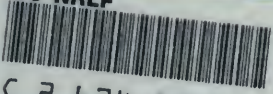


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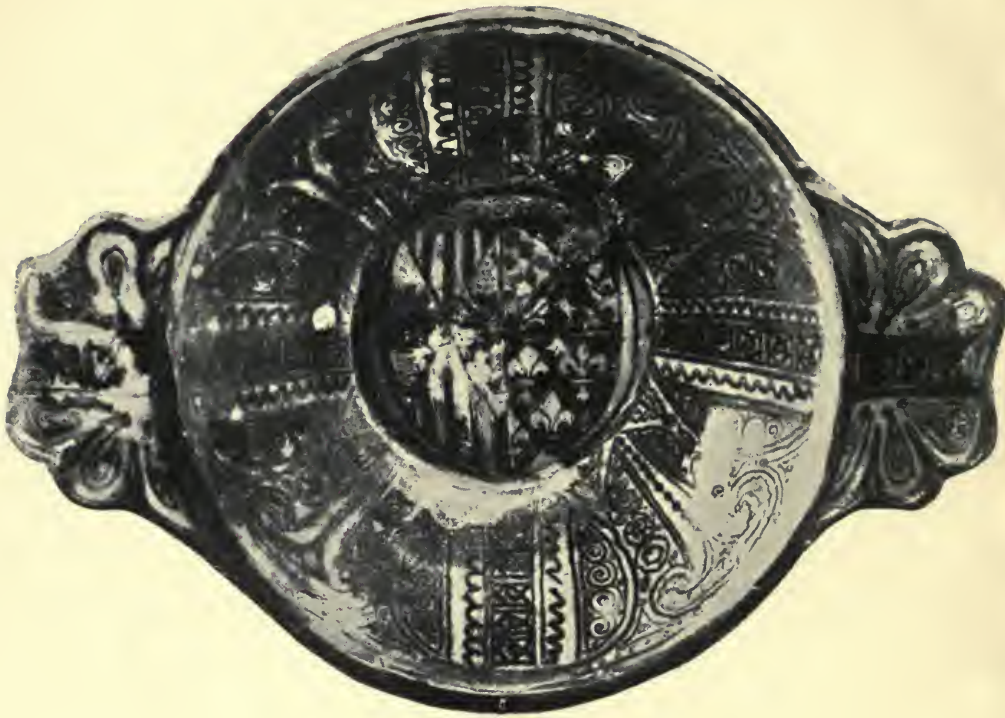








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SCUDELLA WITH ARMS OF BLANCHE OF NAVARRE. VALENCIA, *circa* 1427-1458  
(Collection of Mr Otto Beit)

[See page 26a



HISPANO-MORESQUE WARE  
OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES  
AND SOME LATER  
EXAMPLES

BY ALBERT VAN DE PUT

LONDON: THE ART WORKER'S QUARTERLY  
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## PREFACE

**A**S its title indicates, this work is a sequel to the attempt, published in 1904, to outline the chronology of the enamelled and lusted pottery of Valencia during the fifteenth century.

The contents are divided into three sections. In the first are collected the results of research since the original publication, with a number of references to Spanish and kindred wares never before printed in a work upon pottery. The second contains a series of notes upon Manises, the great centre of Valencian production, and upon the Buyls, lords of that and other localities in the Aragonese realm; a family beneath whose banner nearly all the finest lusted pottery of Valencian origin must have been produced. A series of examples in continuation to the previous set of plates forms the third part. In it have been included a few later specimens representative of a period the productions of which, however inferior to those of the fifteenth century, are to be found in many public and private collections.

The rarity of certain examples and the absorbing interest of the problems connected with others must be urged in excuse of the lengthier descriptions in which the writer has indulged himself upon this occasion. Spain's lusted pottery is as rich in aspects and associations worthy of study as are the ceramics of antiquity, of mediæval and renaissance Italy, or any raised from the ordinary level by an unusual combination of artistic, technical and historical qualities. That the pottery of the Valencian region was thus pre-eminent can hardly be gainsaid. The eastern technique which there attained perfection, united with forms and decorative devices, some European and some Oriental, in the production of vessels endowed with that 'mediæval majesty' of aspect, beside which all but the ware called Rhodian or some early Italian albarello with its lambent acanthi, appear tawdry, or pale or overcharged.

The student of majolica is too often conscious that the subject of his researches can but seldom be known with that minuteness as to the circumstances of manufacture which is a feature of European ceramic history since the Middle Ages. Being earthenware, it does not possess that fictile essence or distinctive ceramic substance which,

with its topographical implication, constitute the claim to be remembered of many wares, æsthetically null and otherwise insignificant, that yet attract unremitting study and attention. In what may be termed accidental or surface qualities, however, Spanish majolica not only shares the palm with the most beautiful of pottery, but can claim for its superficial constituent, unequalled historical importance. The application of tin-enamel to earthenware by the Moors of the Peninsula handed the torch of ceramic progress, as it were, to the West; along the line of its transit occurred for centuries the only ceramic development in Europe; and it followed the Spanish flag to the New World.

Analysis of the sources of the Valencian ceramist's decoration would have been based, had it been treated of at the present stage, upon material of so fragmentary a nature, that a mere statement of the problem it presents must commend itself as more satisfactory. Now that, thanks to the publications of Don G. J. de Osma, the lustre technique of fifteenth century Valencia is known to have been derived from Malaga, the gulf between the Valencian ornamental motives and those typical of Andalusia appears so much the greater, that it must be assumed the transplanted art was influenced by decoration imported from the Levant. Leaving aside the naturalistic treatment of plant-form in the styles that arose during the later portion of the fifteenth century, which may be referred to a local reaction, it is not difficult to detect analogies both of form and decorative selection between the Valencian pottery with inscriptions in simulated Arabic characters, and those of the nearer East, Persia especially. The same class of Valencian ware exhibits, nevertheless, motives which, if not to be referred to any of the sources mentioned, appear equally foreign to the contemporary Spanish influences to which the Moors in Valencia were liable. The identification of this strain, with its likeness to the Byzantine, or Low-Greek, is an uncertain enterprise, so long as acquaintance with the potteries of Byzantium and of neighbouring Levantine States is imperfect.<sup>1</sup> Excavation at the principal sites of

<sup>1</sup>The statement reported by Davillier ('Histoire des faiences hispano-moresques,' p. 27, note 4) that much Spanish ware has been found in Cyprus, is important in view

past ceramic activity will alone disclose the facts regarding influences as well as questions of ornamental development.

With regard to the selection of the specimens figured in these pages and in the previous work upon the subject, the writer has not been unmindful of a criticism the latter incurred: that it should have included a greater number of examples; he must, however, observe that the presentation of any but historically valuable ones was, and is not, his aim. To have increased the size of the work by means of unarmorial specimens, assigning chronological attributions which can be merely arbitrary in the present state of our knowledge of certain styles would have been an easy task. The series presented so far should, it is suggested, be judged as a whole from the standpoint of the information it conveys, not forgetting the want of system that formerly prevailed. Judging from Spanish writings, there appears to be no limit to the services armory may be called upon to render in the dating of individual specimens, as well as in the topographical differentiation of ornamental varieties.

The writer desires to acknowledge his appreciation of the help extended him by many kind friends, in particular to his publisher, Mr W. G. Paulson Townsend, whose enterprise has made possible the production of this work. His thanks are also specially due to Mr R. P. Bedford, for invaluable pen-drawings, and for much help and advice in connexion with the illustrations generally; as to Mr H. C. Andrews, whose photographic skill has been ever at the writer's command. His Excellency Don G. J. de Osma, the writer desires cordially to thank for permission given him to quote from His Excellency's privately printed collection of documents relating to the Valencian ceramic industry; to Don F. de Bofarull, archivist of the Aragonese crown at Barcelona, Mr W. H. J. Weale, and Mr B. Rackham, he owes illustrations. To Canon Rommel, of Bruges, Don

of Catalan relations with that island, and the dynastic alliances of Aragon and Majorca with the Lusignans. Yet the existence of a Cypriote mediæval faience is undreamt of by the compilers of ceramic handbooks. An authority supposes it to have been made at Lefkara from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and to have influenced Italian pottery. C. Enlart, 'L'art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre,' II, 703.

I. de Janer, of Barcelona, Dr W. Valentiner and Mr G. C. Pier, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, he is indebted for valuable information supplied.

Mr Otto Beit, Mr F. D. Godman, F.R.S., and Monsieur Seligmann, he wishes to thank for permission to reproduce specimens;<sup>1</sup> also Lord Hastings, for allowing him to use, as an illustration, the drawing of the combat between Sir John Astley and Sir Philip Buyl, in 1442; and Viscount Dillon and the Society of Antiquaries of London, who have permitted him to copy a reproduction of the same in the 'Archæologia.'

<sup>1</sup> The photograph of fig. 14 was taken by permission of the late Mr George Salting.



## CONTENTS

### I. Notes on the history of lustre decoration and majolica:—

A. The tiles in the mosque of Sidi Okba at Kairuan, subsequent to the twelfth century. Nasir-i-Khusrau, at Cairo, still the earliest witness of lustre. Persian lustre. The Spanish technical characteristic (p. 1).

B. 1383, the date of Eximenes' testimony concerning Manises. Its lustred ware known in 1343 as *Obra de Malaga*. The term employed in Majorca (1493). The Valencian, Luis Vives, uses it in 1532. The term not current abroad. Use of attributions (to Majorca) in Provence (1447) or at Siena (1442), difficult to reconcile with those (to Valencia) at Bruges (1441), Angers (1471-72), or Naples (1478). Mediterranean commerce with the Near East, possibly a direct influence upon Spanish and Italian ceramics. 'Terra domasquina' in Aragon (1410). Ware 'a la domasquina' or 'façon de Damas' (1421, 1520). Murcian ware at Messina (1464). (p. 2).

C. Publication of Valencian documents relating to the local industry. The mock-Arabic inscription. Tiles. Discovery of fragments at Poitiers (1384-85), etc. (p. 9).

### II. Manises:—

Manises pre-eminent in Valencian lustre production during the fifteenth century. Letters of Mary, consort of Alfonso V of Aragon, to Don Pedro Buyl, lord of Manises, ordering a service of *Obra de Malaga* in 1454-55 (p. 11).

Volume of Manises' produce and revenue drawn therefrom by the House of Buyl in 1454. The potters. Manufacture for export. Agents. Payment. Agreements for the manufacture of pottery. Ordinance of the city of Valencia in 1517 (p. 13).

The Buyls of Manises. Rarity of dishes bearing their arms. Those in the Salting collection (Victoria and Albert Museum) and at Lyons (fig. 1). Vician's account of the family. Febrer. Manises in 1237. In 1362. Philip Buyl, of Manises, in 1392. A namesake at Ceuta in 1415. Philip Buyl at London in 1441-42. His combat with Sir John Astley before Henry VI (fig. 2). A record of the fight. Conditions of the meeting. Notice in Gregory's Chronicle. In Stow. Payment to Buyl in the Exchequer Rolls, 1441-42 (p. 17).

### III.

Dish with arms of Despuig. Similarity in the ornamentation of early fifteenth century inscribed dishes bearing these arms and those with the tree-of-life (fig. 3; p. 27).

Dish with representation of Portuguese ship. Belongs to group with inscriptions. Treatment of arms of Portugal on main-sail. Significance of the

ship. Relations of Aragon and Portugal. Ships having sails emblazoned with Portuguese arms illustrated in Catalan Consolats of the early sixteenth century (figs. 4-8; p. 30).

Drug vase at Musée des Hospices Civils, Bruges. Importation of Valencian ware at Bruges. The vase is contemporary with a dish bearing the arms of France, the Dauphin and Burgundy in the Rothschild collection, Paris (HMW, pl. XIII, p. 70). Reasons for revising date previously assigned to the dish, made 1470-72. Link between the Bruges vase and France-Burgundy dish. Similarity of Bruges vase and that depicted in the Portinari altarpiece, painted at Bruges, c. 1474-77. Dual theory as to arms upon the Bruges vase. Armorial tinctures to be taken literally. Arms of Zeeland indicated. The roundel not accounted for. Arms and family of Dagua, a Spanish house established at Bruges. Comparison of Zeeland and Dagua arms results in favour of the former. The arms Teutonic (figs. 9-11; p. 35).

Fragment discovered at Turin. The Orlyé family (figs. 12-13; p. 42).

Dish with arms of Sicily and Aragon. Arms of Ferdinand II of Aragon (figs. 14-15; p. 44).

Dish with arms of Aguila-Carvajal. Ornament a descendant of Mohammedan arabesque. Style not easily dated. Families bearing a bend: Sandoval and Carvajal. Isabel de Carvajal, Sancho del Aguila's widow, in 1503. Juan de Sande y Carvajal (fig. 16; p. 46).

Bowl or eared porringer with arms of Alegre. Probably from same workshop as Gondi and Spannocchi specimens. A wing, the arms of Sans. Francisco Sans, master of Montesa. The Alegre of Valencia and their claim to descend from Yves d'Allegre (figs. 17-19; p. 49).

Bottle with arms of dukes of Segorbe. Form akin to a variety of the ancient *askos*. Shape of another bottle a connecting link. Problem of occurrence in Hispano-Moorish ceramics. Epochs of recurrent activity in certain 'ceramic' regions. Immemorial connexion with pottery making claimed for Paterna. Finds of ancient remains. The surface of the soil at Meca (Murcia). The dukes of Segorbe and their arms. Lords of Paterna and Benalguazil (Valencia). Their relationship to the crowns of Aragon, Sicily and Castile. Bottle bears arms of first or second dukes, titulars of Paterna. Effective seigniorship enjoyed by city of Valencia from 1430 (figs. 20-24; p. 51).

Dish with inscription relating to counts of Aguilar and lords of Ieo(?)ra. Rarity of inscribed specimens. The Ramirez de Arellano, counts of Aguilar, a Castilian house. Their lands in the Soria district. Difficulty of identifying the lordship. Cervera or Yecora? (figs. 25-26; p. 59).

The seventeenth century. Reasons for not attempting to illustrate the transition, 1550-1600. Problem of stylistic continuity. Degeneration had set in

before the expulsion of the Moriscos, 1610. Spaniards then carry on the industry (p. 65).

Vases with arms of Pope Paul V. Repetition by Diago (1613) of Eximenes' tribute to the favour Manises produce enjoyed with the Pope. Inventory of Luigi Martini, bishop of Aosta. The Borghese pope makes a Valencian cardinal (fig. 27; p. 67).

Dish with arms of Montserrat. The Monserrat family. The monastery arms. Identical insignia upon the vase attributed to Brislington. The 'Richard Franks' monogram a variant of the cipher upon the Montserrat dish (figs. 28-29; p. 69).

Dish with arms of Ferrer. A common surname upon the Aragonese littoral (fig. 30; p. 72).

Pails with arms of Don John II of Austria. Degenerate ornamentation. The Spanish royal arms are reversed. Cross of St John, the clue to the identity of the individual for whom made. Don John, prior of Castile, in the Order of St John. His relations with the Riberas (figs. 31-32; p. 74).

## Appendix I

a. Dishes in existence bearing the arms of Mary of Aragon. At the Victoria and Albert Museum. At the Musée Céramique, Sèvres. The heraldic problem of the latter. The Sèvres dishes in the Pau inventory, 1562 (figs. 33-34; p. 77).

b. The arms of Mary of Castile, consort of Alfonso V of Aragon. A carpet formerly in Sta. Isabel de los Reyes, Toledo, bears the arms upon her tomb at Valencia and upon a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Hypotheses accounting for its existence at the convent. Pedigree showing possible descent of carpet to Ferdinand II of Aragon, (1) from the foundress of the convent of Sta. Isabel, or (2) from Mary of Castile (fig. 35; p. 82).

c. Omission of 'arms of Naples' from tomb of Queen Mary at Valencia as an argument for its erection after 1458, the year of her death. Arms of Sicily, the island (*trans-Pharum*) in practice occasionally exemplified the entire kingdom of Sicily (*trans-* and *cis-Pharum*). One Angevin shield exemplified that house's pretension to the kingdom in its old limits. Alfonso V united all Sicily under Aragonese dominion. His style reflected the Angevin practice. His shield quarterly, expressing his succession to Anjou by adoption and conquest, not 'Naples' technically. The armorials of the Castelnuovo arch at Naples. Alfonso's herald *Sicile*, at the Burgundian court. The Aragonese 'of Naples' so called, their style and arms. Sicily under the house of Austria. La Tremoille's quartering for Sicily *cis-Pharum* (p. 84).

## Appendix II

A. Philip Buyl at Ceuta, *circa* 1415, according to Zurara (p. 87).

B. Aragonese and Castilians at the courts of England and Burgundy in the fifteenth century: the 'Chevalier d'Espagne' and M. d'Haubourdin in 1439. 'Escuiers d'Espagne' and MM. G. de Vauldrey and J. d'Haubourdin, 1439. The 'knyght out of Spayne,' of the Paston correspondence, is Sir P. de Vasques, a Burgundian chamberlain. Francis de Suriene, 'l'Arragonoiz,' afterwards K.G., perhaps a companion of Sir Philip Buyl. Suriene and Sir J. Astley. Messieurs J. Boniface or Bonifazio and J. de Lalaing, 1445 (p. 87).

## Appendix III

Commercial relations of Flanders and Aragon in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Foreign merchants at Margaret of York's marriage, 1468. Political relations. Embassy of 1427 from Philip III of Burgundy. Marriage of Charles, prince of Viana. Alfonso V's herald *Sicile*. Orders. Alfonso's obsequies at Brussels (p. 89).

### NOTE

*The reference HMW, given throughout the text, is to the writer's 'Hispano-Moresque Ware of the Fifteenth Century,' 1904.*

*A fresh consideration of the examples published in the latter work, in the light of evidence since adduced, has necessitated a revision of the dates assigned to certain pieces therein, as follows:*

HMW	DATED	REVISED DATE	See, in this work
Plate VI	1419-41	<i>circa</i> 1427-58	p. 78.
XIII	1456-61	1470-72	p. 35.
XXIX	1468-79	1475-79	p. 44.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Dish with arms of Buyl; late fifteenth century	page 18
2. Combat between Sir Philip Buyl and John Astley before Henry VI at Smithfield, 1441-42 (reproduced from the <i>Archæologia</i> )	23
3. Dish with arms of Despuig or kindred surname; early fifteenth century	27
4. Bowl with representation of a Portuguese <i>Nau</i> ; early to mid fifteenth century	30
5. Exterior of bowl	30
6. Vase with ornament similar to the 'ship' bowl	30
7. Title-page of 'Consolat de Mar,' 1518	32
8. Title-page of 'Consolat de Mar,' 1523	33
9. Drug-vase with arms of Zeeland, <i>circa</i> 1475	35
10. Detail of the Portinari altarpiece, by H. van der Goes, 1475-76	37
11. Dauphin's arms from Valencian dish (HMW, XIII), <i>circa</i> 1470-72	39
12. Bowl with arms of Orlyé, <i>circa</i> 1470-75	42
13. The name Orlyé: detail from the bowl	42
14. Dish with arms of Ferdinand II, the Catholic, probably as king of Sicily, 1468-79	44
15. Silver <i>Real</i> with arms of Isabella and Ferdinand II	44
16. Dish with arms of Isabel de Carvajal (d. 1523) wife of Sancho del Aguila (d. 1503); late fifteenth century	46
17. Scudella with arms of Sans or Alegre, <i>circa</i> 1500	49
18. Back of the scudella	50
19. Arms of Arnao Sans, 1439	50
20. Cylindrical bottle with arms of the first or second duke of Segorbe, lord of Paterna; first half of sixteenth century	51
21. Cylindrical bottle with arms and inscription; early sixteenth century	51
22. Dish; early sixteenth century	52

23. Arms of Henry of Aragon, duke of Villena (d. 1445), from López de Haro (1622)	<i>page</i> 54
24. Title-page of 'Floresta de varia poesia,' 1562; with arms of Alfonso, second duke of Segorbe	57
25. Dish with inscription relating to the counts of Aguilar; sixteenth century	59
26. The inscription	60
27. Vases with arms of Pope Paul V (1605-21)	67
28. Dish with arms of the Benedictine monastery of Mont- serrat, 1611	69
29. Back of the dish	69
30. Dish with arms of Ferrer, 1639	72
31. Pail with arms of Don John II Joseph of Austria (1629-79), prior of the Order of St John in Castile	74
32. Medal of Don John II Joseph of Austria, 1566	74
33. Arms upon royal Navarrese seals (John, Blanche, and Charles of Viana), <i>circa</i> 1427 to 1461	79
34. Arms upon Valencian dish, Sèvres Museum (No. 3107; HMW, VI)	80
35. Arms of Mary of Castile, consort of Alfonso V, upon Spanish carpet formerly at Toledo	83

## I. NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LUSTRE DECORATION AND MAJOLICA

SINCE the publication of the previous study, criticism has shown the necessity of correcting, in one or another particular, certain statements advanced by art-historians and others, concerning the early history of pottery decoration with enamel and lustre, in Mediterranean lands.

Such revision is of considerable importance, in two cases, to the history of the craft in Spain. It may be recalled that the earliest record of the manufacture of lustred ware in the Peninsula is Edrisi's mention, in A.D. 1154, of the golden pottery of Calatayud, in Aragon, and of its export to distant lands. The production of similar pottery is attributed to Malaga, by Ibn Sa'id in the thirteenth century, and by Ibn Batuta and Ibn el Hatib in that following. Moreover an inventory of this period affords lustred items from North Africa, the proper place for which is a ceramic history, in which they have never yet been mentioned: *pignatte dorate di Bugea* occur among the contents of a Genoese pharmacy in 1312.<sup>1</sup> Of the art's inception in Spain, there is no evidence, whether introduced in the train of Syrian and Egyptian culture after the Arab conquest of 712-13; or subsequent to the Berber-Moorish invasions from Africa, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, upon which period the first records of its existence, already mentioned, supervene.

In these circumstances, the existence of a series of lustred wall-tiles at Kairuan, Tunis, purporting to date from the end of the ninth century and to have been made, some at Bagdad and some at Kairuan, by a Bagdad potter, was cited as showing that within a century of the Arab invasion of Spain, lustre technique had travelled far westward and that, at this remote date, its home was upon the banks of the Euphrates. The authorities for the attribution of so great an antiquity to the tiles in the mihrab of the mosque of Sidi Okba, have

<sup>1</sup> M. G. Canale, 'Nuova istoria della reppublica di Genova e del suo commercio,' III, 197. 1860. Quoted also by Mas-Latrie, 'Traité de paix et de commerce,' pt I, p. 221. 1866.

been demonstrated, however, to be worthless in that connexion,<sup>1</sup> and the earliest evidence for the existence of lustred ceramics remains that of Nasir-i-Khusrau who, in 1047, records that a ware then produced at Misr (Cairo) had a translucent body and lustred surface. The facts to be gleaned from this Persian traveller, who was acquainted with the wares of his own country, of Syria, as well as of Egypt, have led to the inference that, in the early eleventh century, Egypt was in advance of other nations of the Near East in ceramic production, and that it stood alone in the possession of lustre technique.<sup>2</sup> Of Egyptian remains it must be remarked that the lustred fragments recovered at Fostat and other sites, and attributed to the Fatimite period (tenth to twelfth centuries), show a preponderance of vitreously-glazed over tin-enamelled specimens. There is, on the other hand, no doubt that the lustre process was also applied to tin-enamelled wares by the inhabitants of the Persian city of Rhages or Rei, before and after its destruction in 1221, although the relative antiquity of the industry seated there is not ascertainable.

In Spain, it is of the fourteenth century that enamel and lustre applied to earthenware may first be postulated with certainty, the materials being yet undiscovered for deciding whether this technical combination, upon which depends the fame of the Moors as ceramists, was in all respects characteristic of the wares noticed by Edrisi and his followers before that date.

Another of the rectifications alluded to is more germane to the period of production with which this book is concerned. The passage in which Francisco Eximenes or Jimenez records the beauty

<sup>1</sup>Dr A. J. Butler, 'Burlington Magazine,' xii, 48. 1907. The mihrab, as known to Al Bakri (1048-94), was entirely of white marble. Nasir-i-Khusrau is equally silent as to the tiles, which must date from a restoration of the mosque subsequent to the ruin of Kairuan in the twelfth century. Cf. the lustred fragments, etc., discovered by L. de Beylié in excavating the palace of the Beni Hammad dynasty, south of Bordj Bou Areridj (Dept. of Constantine), abandoned for Bougie in 1090; 'La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad, une capitale berbère de l'Afrique du Nord au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle,' pp. 45, 85, pls. XXI, XXII. 1909.

<sup>2</sup>A. J. Butler, 'Egypt and the ceramic art of the Nearer East,' Burlington Magazine, xi, 221. 1907.



of the golden ware produced at Manises, near Valencia, and the favour it found in the eyes of the Pope, cardinals and princes, dates from 1383,<sup>1</sup> when it was penned, not from 1499, the year when it was first printed. This serious chronological misattribution is to be attributed to the well nigh unique rarity of the Valencian incunabulum, the 'Regiment de la Cosa Publica' by Eximenes, in which that rather obscure writer's testimony relating to Manises is printed.<sup>2</sup>

Of the lusted pottery produced in Valencia, and particularly at Manises, in the fourteenth century<sup>3</sup> little can be advanced with certainty in the present state of knowledge, but from the circumstance that the ware so manufactured was known as early as 1343 by the name *Obra de Melicha* (Malaga),<sup>4</sup> it would follow that it presented at least some decorative affinity with, and certainly, technical characteristics of, contemporary Andalusian pottery of the kind. A piece in the Louvre collection has been identified as

<sup>1</sup> The Pope recognized in 1383 by the Spanish kingdoms was he of Avignon, Clement VII (Robert of Geneva), who reigned 1378-94.

<sup>2</sup> Unable to quote at first hand from a work, the only known copies of which exist in the libraries of Madrid and Palma, but which bears within it the statement of its true date, the writer reproduced (HMW, p. 10) the passage from Campaner y Fuertes' 'Dudas y conjeturas acerca de la antigua fabricacion mallorquin de la loza con reflejos metalicos' (p. 7), in which Eximenes' statement is erroneously given the date of its publication. The error has been pointed out by Don G. J. de Osma in his 'Apuntes sobre Ceramica Morisca,' I, 12-15. 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogued as fourteenth century, by Dr W. Valentiner, are two enamelled saucers, rudely decorated in green and manganese: 'Sammlungen des Herrn Alfred Beit in London: Spanisch Maurische Fayencen,' 1906. They are illustrated in the same author's 'Die Spanisch-Maurischen Fayencen der Sammlung Beit in London,' 'Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,' Neue Folge, XVIII, 119, fig. 1, 1907. Similarly ornamented non-lusted wares, with lines in manganese and green blobs, have been found in excavating a fabrique in a suburb of Algiers (G. Marçais: 'L'art en Algérie, p. 116). A fragment answering to the same description, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is of undoubtedly Valencian provenance.

<sup>4</sup> In the inventory of Canon Berenguer de Lers, of Vich (1343), are found various objects in *terra de Melicha* and *terra de Valencia*, also 'II scutellas siue tayadors de terra de Melicha siue de Valencia.' The double designation also occurs in a Catalan inventory of 1367. (Osma, op. cit., II, p. 6.) In 1405, Valencian documents mention two Moors, masters of Malaga ware, inhabitants of Manises, 'moros maestros de obra de Malequa, vecinos del lugar de Manises.' (Osma, op. cit. I, pp. 18-19.)

primitive Valencian, anterior to the application of lustre pigment to the usual decoration in blue,<sup>1</sup> a claim which would assign to it a chronological priority altogether untenable in the light of the documents lately mentioned. It is a shallow bowl or scudella, of somewhat coarse facture but enamelled. The ornament consists of a conventional representation of the tree-of-life between, at right angles, two panels of the stock Arabic inscription, and four pointed 'agrafes,'<sup>2</sup> all in blue. This piece appears to be merely an example of the early inscribed variety which, for some reason, had not received lustre decoration, or it may belong to the class of dishes for ordinary use, ornamented, in blue or blue and manganese only, with the motives employed for lustre wares.

The denomination *Obra de Malaga* was also used in the Balearic Isles, in the fifteenth century, to designate lustre pottery. The inventory of Miguel Abeyar, a Mallorcan notary and bibliophile, of 1493, mentions both new and old pieces of the pottery:

Item vj scudelles e dos plats de terra tot nou, obra de Malica.

.....

Item una caxota vella hon havia dos refredadors de terra e tres plats grans de Malica tot vell e sotil.<sup>3</sup>

Whether these specimens were imported from Valencia or were of local make, we know not. The Abeyar inventory places the problem of lustre manufacture in Majorca in a fresh light, without invalidating the conclusions against the old theory which attributed the bulk of the lustred wares now recognized as Valencian to that island.<sup>4</sup>

Confirmatory, also, of this transplantation of Malagan craft to the soil of Valencia is a brief reference to the same by the humanist Luis Vives (1492-1540), a native of Valencia, in the description

<sup>1</sup> G. Migeon, 'Notes d'archéologie musulmane: monuments inédits,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3e série, xxxv, 213-4. 1906.

<sup>2</sup> This designation appears preferable for an ornament shaped like the upper part of the tree-of-life. See, also, as regards the central motive alluded to, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> 'Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana,' vii, 418-9. 1898.

<sup>4</sup> HMW, pp. 39 et seq.

of a dining-room, in his 'Colloquia,' or 'Exercitationes linguæ latinæ,' first published in 1532:

... stabat autem & alterum aquiminarium vitreum, fistula deaurata cum pollubro figlino, operis Malacensis probè sandaracato.<sup>1</sup>

As a designation, *Obra de Malaga* does not, however, appear to have been current outside Spain. Inventories testify that, so far as concerned nomenclature, the provenance of Valencian wares was recognized in other Mediterranean lands and in the North. It is not easy to reconcile attributions of pottery to Valencia, in the Mediterranean region, with those of *terre de mailloreque* in Provence (1447), or of imported *majolica* or *lavori di maiorica* at Siena (1442),<sup>2</sup> if it be considered that the latter terms, in their geographical bearing, were invariably a figment applied to Valencian productions. Documents show that the enamelled unglazed pottery produced in Valencia concurrently with wares that had received the lustre pigment, found much favour abroad, from the early fifteenth century onwards.<sup>3</sup> The incidence of the manufacture of the same in Italy, rather than that of lustre, is the problem of Italian *majolica*. *Valenschenwerc* was imported at Bruges in 1441. At Angers there may be cited René of Anjou's *terre de Valence à fueillages pers* and *à fleurs perses* (i.e., with blue foliage and flowers) in 1471-2, and the same

<sup>1</sup> The earliest edition of the 'Colloquia' being inaccessible to the writer, the extract is made from that of 1578, printed at Antwerp by Guzman, sig. K8. In the resumé of the passage quoted by E. Bonnaffé, in the 1514 'Inventaire de la duchesse de Valentinois, Charlotte d'Albret,' the wife of Cæsar Borgia, we have (p. 43) *opere Malacensi*. The 1578 edition gives a French translation, not by Vives, "Il y avoit aussi vn autre vaisseau de voirre à mettre eau, ayāt le tuyau doré, avec un bassin à lauer les mains, ourage de Malace, fort bien vernissé." The Spanish translation by Coret y Peris (fourth ed., Valencia, 1767, p. 255) has "con una fuente de barro de obra de Malaga bien *embarnizado*." Apparently Vives used the adjective from *sandaraca* (=burnt or orange orpiment, or *realgar*) to lay stress upon the colour of the lustre pigment. Cf. Lomazzo 'Trattato,' Milan, 1584, "l'oropimento arso ilquale si dice color d'oro (p. 191: Quali sono le materie nelle quali si trouano i colori)." As regards the translation *vernissé* (1578) or *embarnizado* (1767), Queen Mary of Aragon used *enuernissada* as an alternative to *daurada* in 1455 (see p. 12).

<sup>2</sup> HMW, p. 6 (notes 1, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Osma, op. cit., II, 12, etc., publishes agreements relating to the delivery of pottery packed for export at the harbour of Valencia from 1404. See also p. 14 of this work.

prince's accounts show that he received pottery direct from Valencia in 1478-79.<sup>1</sup> In Neapolitan inventories, also, have been found: *pratellus de creta de Valencia* (1478), and *scudella de creta de catalogna ad quatro maniche* (1501).<sup>2</sup>

If the records of Southern nations, in the later Middle Ages, could be explored with that attention to the rarer products of the arts which is expended, in the interests of economic history, upon the body of ordinary trade commodities, the obscurity that shrouds many points of ceramic transmission might be dispelled. The Mediterranean brought to the very doors of Marseilles, Genoa, Pisa, Naples and Venice, the picturesque and outlandish craft productions of Spain, Egypt and Syria. Between the Peninsula, with a large oriental population seated on its south and east, commercial intercourse with Italy, the Levantine and trans-Mediterranean states was also considerable.<sup>3</sup> Merchants of Genoa obtained permission to settle at Seville after the conquest, in 1251, and before the Catalans. The latter's consuls were established at the principal Neapolitan cities from 1307.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "16 octobre 1478. A Jehan Oche, le xvi<sup>e</sup> dudit moys, pour acheter de la vaiselle de terre de Valence, estant sur les galléasses véniciennes, dix ducatz, à raison de xxxg. l'un, vallent xxv f°.—24 avril 1479. A ung muletier, qui apporta de Marseille à Tharascon, les lyons, la vaisselle de terre et autres besoignes de Catheloingne venuz sur la nau de Claude Martinet. III f°.—31 mai 1479. A Claude Martinet, . . . la somme de quatre vingt ducatz, pour deux lions, male et femelle, qu'il a apportéz sur sa nau au roy, de la ville de Valence . . . avec certaine vaisselle de terre, apportée dudit pays de Vallance, la Grant, à raison de xxxII gros pour ducatz, vallent II<sup>c</sup> XIII f° IIII g°. G. Arnaud d' Agnel, 'Les comptes du roi René,' II, 371; I, 158-9.

<sup>2</sup> Bevere, 'Arredi, suppellettili, utensili d'uso nelle provincie meridionali dal XII. al XVI. secolo,' Archivio storico per le provincie Napolitane, XXI, 642. 1896. For *creta* or potter's clay, used here in the sense of *terre*, or earthenware, see Biringuccio, 'Pirotechnia,' 1540, p. 145 recto; and Piccolpasso, 'Dell'arte del vasajo,' MS. (Victoria and Albert Museum Library), fol. 5 verso.

<sup>3</sup> For Aragon's political and commercial intercourse with North Africa from 1227 to the late fifteenth century, see Mas Latrie's 'Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec l'Afrique septentrionale au moyen âge,' 1866-72; and his 'Relations et commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale avec les nations chrétiennes,' 1886.

<sup>4</sup> B. Croce, 'Primi contatti fra Spagna e Italia,' Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana, XXIII, 13. 1893.

Though conclusive evidence of the importation of Spanish ceramics into Italy before the late fourteenth century has not yet been adduced, the roundels or *bacini* in the campanile (1063) of the Benedictine abbey of Pomposa may be instanced, as including specimens strongly Hispano-Moresque in design.<sup>1</sup> The main details of the importation of pottery from Africa and the eastern Mediterranean into Spain, through commercial channels, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, may one day be as clear as are, now, the exportation of Spanish wares to Italy in the fifteenth century, and the imitations<sup>2</sup> to which they gave rise, and they will explain certain (so far as is known) peculiarly West Asiatic motives traceable in the decoration of Valencian productions.

A glimpse of the traffic then existing between the Levant and the Catalan littoral in the finer productions of another craft—that of textiles—is obtained in a letter written at Saragossa by John I of Aragon to his brother Martin, duke of Montblanch, in 1392. The king states that he had heard that the ships of Master Casasage, Master Morén and others were coming from Alexandria and oversea, bringing cloths of gold, silken fabrics and velvets; and Martin is requested to cause the stuffs to be submitted to him, for the purpose of selecting any novelties ('obratge novell') among them, on behalf of the monarch.<sup>3</sup>

As regards pottery, the great inventory of Martin's own effects, compiled at his decease in 1410, appears to indicate that the Levan-

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in C. Errard, 'Ravenne et Pompose,' pls. VIII, IX; an inscription dates the campanile 1063.

<sup>2</sup> H. Wallis, 'The oriental influence on the ceramic art of the Italian Renaissance,' p. xxvi, 1900. W. Bode, 'Die Anfänge der Majolikakunst in Florenz, unter dem Einfluss der hispanomoresken Majoliken.' Jahrbuch der Kgl. preussischen Kunstsammlungen, xxix, 276. 1908.

<sup>3</sup> "... E com haïam entés, molt car frare, que les naus den Casasage, den Morén é daltres venen de los parts Dalexendria é Dultramar, portants drap dor é de Seda é velluts pregam vos que com sien aqui arribades nos façats aportar aquelles davant vos per los mercaders daquí, é triats ne aquells que á vos será semblant, qui sien de faicó obratge novell. . . . Dada en Saragossa, . . . a vij dies de Febrer del any de nostre Senyor mcccxcj. . . . Rex Johannes. Dirigitur ducis Montisalbi." J. Coroleu, 'Documents historichs catalans del sigle XIV,' p. 142-3. 1889.

tine ware termed Syrian or Damascus was known to that monarch. Together with specimens of copper, glass and woodwork, qualified as 'domasquina,' are found the following vessels, the nomenclature of which, our knowledge of contemporary shapes does not permit of translating with any degree of confidence:

2061.—Item. I.<sup>a</sup> tramostereta de terra domasquina

2062.—Item. II. sponges de terra domasquines

2063.—Item. III. gresols. I. gran e III. petits de terra domasquins.

2064.—Item. II. spongerets petites de terra domesquines.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen (p. 15) that, in 1414, Manises produced earthenware 'a la domasquina.' For ceramographic purposes it appears, in consequence, lawful to suppose that the style thus distinguished was in some degree an imitation of Syrian productions which had found their way to the peninsula through the channel already indicated. The ware 'fasson de Damas' is mentioned in the inventory of Vincennes in 1421.<sup>2</sup> That of Jehan de Louvegny, an Amiens apothecary, in 1520, corroborates the Valencian origin of pottery so designated, as follows:

Item. VI. autres boittes façon Damas, terre de Valence

pr. xxi s. prisé

It. XI. petites boites semblable terre et ouvrage

pr. xv s.<sup>3</sup>

An entry in the list of effects of a surgeon of Messina (August

<sup>1</sup> 'Inventari dels bens mobles del rey Martí de Aragó, transcrit por M. de Bofarull y Sartorio,' *Revue hispanique*, XII, 587. 1905.

<sup>2</sup> "264. Un petit pot de terre à Fasson de Damas lequel est rompu. 266. Un pot de terre à biberon, sans garnison, de la Fasson de Damas." Douët d'Arcq, 'Choix de pieces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI,' II. The chief piece of Damascus pottery of unquestionable attribution is, it may be observed, a vase in the collection of Countess R. de Béarn, inscribed: Made for Assad of Alexandria (or of Alexandretta) by Yousouf at Damascus; it is ornamented, like the majority of the specimens assigned to Syria, in greenish lustre upon a blue ground. G. Migeon, 'Manuel d'art musulman,' II, 277, fig. 227; G. C. Pier, 'Pottery of the Near East,' p. 64; the best reproduction is given in 'Exposition des arts musulmans au Musée des Arts décoratifs,' pl. xxx.

<sup>3</sup> 'Jehan de Louvegny, apothicaire amiénois de 1487 à 1520.' Par O. Thorel. *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 4 série, V, 140. 1908. The term *boite* was applied to receptacles or vessels in any material, and here alternates with "boites de terre d'anvers," and pots in "terre de Flandres," etc.

16, 1464) is of interest in view of the long interval between the brief records of the golden (or lustred) pottery of Murcia contained in the remarks of Ibn Sa'id in the thirteenth century and of Lucio Marineo, in 1539.

Inventario dei beni del fù Giacomo di Console, chirurgo . . . .

.....  
Items platos duos de Mursia.<sup>1</sup>

Murcia city, capital of the kingdom of that name lying between Valencia's southern confines and the kingdom of Granada, is on the road from Valencia to the south, and its wares might therefore be supposed to resemble those of Andulasia, but he would be rash who should assign an example of lustred pottery to Murcia at present. The existence of lustred fragments at Meca, a 'ceramic site' within the present Murcian boundaries has, however, been noted by an archæologist.<sup>2</sup>

The results of a series of recently published researches must also be cited. The publication of the records, preserved in the archives of Valencia, relating to the lustre industry in different localities of the Valencian district has been undertaken by Don G. J. de Osma.<sup>3</sup> These valuable documents, of which three instalments have appeared down to the time of going to press, promise to provide, at last, the groundwork of facts so long desired by connoisseurs and historians of majolica. A translation of the most important and notes from others are, by permission of Señor de Osma, included in the following pages. The same authority has likewise published the elucidation of the Arabic inscription which forms a staple decorative motive in the earlier fifteenth century styles.<sup>4</sup> This inscription, originating

<sup>1</sup> F. Gabotto, 'Inventarî messinesi inediti del quattrocento,' p. 21. 1907.

<sup>2</sup> See further p. 53, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> 'Apuntes sobre Cerámica Morisca. Textos y documentos valencianos. I. La Loza dorada de Manises en el año 1454; II. Los maestros alfareros de Manises, Paterna y Valencia. III. Los divisas del Rey en los pavimentos de 'obra de Manises' del castillo de Nápoles (1446-1458).' Madrid (privately printed), 1906-09.

<sup>4</sup> 'Los letreros ornamentales en la ceramica morisca española del siglo XV.' (Cultura Española, núm. 11, 473. 1906.) Also printed separately.

in the Arabic word *alafa*,<sup>1</sup> degenerated into the stereotyped forms that, at the hands of writers upon Hispano-Moresque pottery, have earned them the designation 'mock-Arabic.' It remains to be seen whether the familiar forms assumed by the inscription in the case of the Valencian wares were common to the pottery of the older centre, Malaga, and to what extent.

Finally the tile-industry which flourished side by side with lustre production at Manises and elsewhere from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries has formed the subject of a special monograph,<sup>2</sup> the illustrations of which show that certain of the motives employed by the lustre artist were much affected in tile ornamentation. This is, indeed, corroborated by documents which prove that at Valencia the crafts of the potter and tile-maker were frequently combined in the same individual.<sup>3</sup>

The accounts for the tile-work executed under the direction of the 'Sarasin,' Jehan de Valence (HMW, p. 24, etc.), for the duke of Berry at Poitiers, in 1384-85, have since been printed in their entirety<sup>4</sup>; and two fragments have been recovered of a tile-roundel of the Berry arms (France ancient a bordure engrailed gules), as the writer suggested, stanniferously enamelled. The field is dark blue, the bordure brownish and the fleurs de lys white, possibly owing to the decay of the lustre, of the actual manufacture of which at Poitiers there can be no doubt.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "In the Arab original it conveyed the idea of *prosperity, fate (desired) or blessing (of God)*." "In Castilian *grace, pardon, mercy*." Osma, op. cit., p. 475 (translated).

<sup>2</sup> J. Font y Gumá, 'Rajolas valencianas y catalans.' 1906. Also a tariff of 1685, fixing the prices of Valencian blue-and-white, and of Alacuas earthenware, has been published by Señor L. Tramoyeres Blasco, 'Ceramica Valenciana del Siglo XVII,' in the 'Almanaque del Periodico "Las Provincias" de Valencia, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> Osma, 'Apuntes,' II.

<sup>4</sup> L. Magne, 'Le Palais de Justice de Poitiers.' 1904.

<sup>5</sup> The fragments were first published by L. Dupré, 'Les carreaux émaillés du palais de Justice de Poitiers au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle,' in the Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 2e série, IX, 459. 1902; also, L. M. Solon, Burlington Magazine, XII, 83. 1907.



## II. MANISES.

THE first of the documents published by Don G. J. de Osma confirms, as an historical fact, the long suspected pre-eminence of Manises in Valencian lustre production during the fifteenth century. This document is drawn from a register of the correspondence of Mary of Castile, queen of Aragon, now in the archives of the kingdom of Valencia. It is, to be precise, an official copy of a letter of the queen dated November 26, 1454, to no less a personage than the lord of Manises, ordering a service of *obra de melica* for the royal use.

The reader must be referred to the original publication for the text of the letter, as for the various occurrences Señor de Osma is able to cite, from fifteenth century agreements, inventories, etc., in the Valencian archives, of 'Malaga ware,' or *obra de melica*—the name of the Andalusian city in which the lustre technique is reputed to have had its principal seat in Spain, until the close of the fourteenth century, being variously spelt Maleca, Malequa, Malica, Melica, Melicha or Maliqua. This designation was applied throughout Valencia to lustre ware made in the locality, not, as might be thought, to importations from Malaga. In an agreement of the year 1405, two Moors are described as *maestres de obra de Malequa, vehins del loch de Manizes*, or 'masters of Malaga ware, inhabitants of Manises.'

Further proof of the correctness of this interpretation of the term *obra de melica* is furnished by the already mentioned letter of the queen of Aragon, which may be translated thus:

The Queen:

Noble and beloved. For the use and service of our person, we require some Malaga ware, according to the list thereof which we have caused to be written, and which we send herein. We entreat and charge you therefore, in all affection, that for love and consideration of us, you will have the same beautifully made, of fine ware, and we rely upon you that the whole should form a set. And permit us to avail ourselves thus of you, because we hold you our faithful servant, and because you are at the fount of the said industry, and we trust to God that we shall be mindful of this service and of the others you have done us. And when the ware is made, inform our faithful procurator, Don Cristobal de Montblanch, of it without delay, whom we have charged

to inquire and to write to you about it, so that when it is finished he can send it: and we would that it were already made. Given in our city of Borja, on the xxvi day of November in the year one thousand, CCCCLIII.

To our noble and beloved

The Queen.

Don Pere [Peter] Buyl.

List of the pottery wanted by the Queen, which is to form a set, and to be of fine ware.

First: two lavabo dishes

Item: large meat dishes

Item: eating dishes

Item: bowls or porringers

Item: fine broth-bowls

Item: fine water-pitchers, lustred all over

Item: two-handled flower-vases, lustred

Item: one half dozen large mortars (?)

Item: little bowls and small ware

Item: bowls for . . . broth<sup>1</sup>

In executing this command the direction to lustre entirely the water-pitchers was misunderstood, for by a subsequent letter of March 21, 1455, from Saragossa, where she had spent the winter, queen Mary thanked Don Pedro Buyl for the service she had received, and supplemented the first order by another for six pitchers and as many drinking vases or cups, which she required 'varnished or gilt inside and out.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The exact modern equivalents being in some cases difficult to render, we give the original text:

Primo: dos plats pera donar ayguemans

Item: plats grans pera servir et portar vianda

Item: plats pera menjar

Item: scudellas

Item: scudelles primes pera beure brous

Item: pichers primes pera dar aygua que sien tots daurats

Item: terraces pera tenir flores ab dos anses dauradas

Item: morters mija dotzena que sien granets

Item: scudelletes et obra menuda

Item: scudelles pera fer brous sechs.

As to the existence of pottery ornamented with the queen's arms, etc., see Appendix.

<sup>2</sup>" . . . enuernissada o daurada dins e deffora . . .," Osma, I, p. 28. See above, p. 5, note 1, and p. 16 for "gerras enverniscatas" as signifying *enamelled* jars.

In her letter the queen informs Don Pedro Buyl that she applies to him because he is *en la font de la dita obra*; literally, at the fount (or source) of production of the said ware. The statement clearly defines the position Manises occupied in the year 1454, as the centre of fabrication of lusted pottery in Valencia, and indeed, throughout the territories of the Aragonese crown, Queen Mary being, when she wrote, at Borja, in Aragon proper. Thanks to the agreements published by Don G. J. de Osma, and to his commentary upon them, many aspects of the industry carried on at Manises are at last tolerably clear. We are able to form an estimate of the bulk, the scope, and the conditions of the trade on its economic and social sides.

The volume of the annual produce of Manises in the mid-fifteenth century may be computed from the proceeds of the tenth that accrued to Don Pedro Buyl, lord of the castle and town of Manises, and to Caterina de Navals, his relict and heir, in 1454. It then amounted to 6,000 sueldos (some 31,000 pesetas = £1,150, modern English), representing an annual turnover of 340,000 to 350,000 pesetas (£12,580-£12,950) present currency.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that, under the social conditions then prevalent in Valencia, the lord of the soil was capable of controlling the industry carried on by his vassals and those that settled within his jurisdiction. The Buyls were not merely interested in the yield of the tenth, but at times actually contracted for the sale of pottery. How far and in what directions their powers may have been exercised in concerns other than those that arose from the revenues they drew from the trade, may some day be clearer than it is at present.

Meanwhile, the data furnished by such documents as are preserved in the various archives at Valencia, notarial registers in particular, are of great value. They are for the most part agreements for the supply of pottery or tiles, by various master craftsmen of Manises or Paterna, giving details as to prices and payment and the current designations of the wares required. The potter is seen to have been generally, but not invariably, a Saracen (*seracenus*), and he is termed *magister operis terre*, but without reference to the qualifications implied by the free-

<sup>1</sup>Osma, op. cit., II, 57, 136 (doc. 57).

dom of a guild; the *alfareros* of Manises were not incorporated until 1614. Their ranks are seen to have contained an itinerant contingent: Mahomet Çuleymen Alfaqui and Maimo Annaiar, Moors and masters in Malaga ware, inhabitants of Manises, contract to work during five years, from 1405, for Guellem de Martorell, lord of Murla; in 1461, a master potter of Mislata, Pere Eximeno, agreed to enter partnership with a namesake at Barcelona. Others were immigrants, or of that extraction: Sancho Almurci or Murci (1406-21), *magister operis maleque*, was probably a Murcian; Ali Luxeni or Aluxen (1421-23), was of Luchente; and Azmet el Malequi (1500-03), a Malagan.

A large proportion of the agreements drawn up by notaries refer to wares for export. The latter were manufactured by the gross (*gruesa*) or dozen—the merely painted and the enamelled and painted wares, apparently, in these quantities; <sup>1</sup> the *obra de malaga* or lusted, by the dozen or more—packed in earthenware vases (*gerres* or *gerretes*, Castilian *jarras*) <sup>2</sup> and delivered at the Grao, ‘in gradu maris Valencie,’ where an export duty was levied on bulk or *ad valorem*.

The pottery was frequently disposed of through middlemen or brokers, especially for export. Felipe Francés, a Valencian notary, kept (1451) a warehouse at the Grao, in which he stocked Manises productions, purchased either direct from the Moors, or from Don Pedro Buyl to the annual value of 50 libras.<sup>3</sup> In 1414 are recorded the dealings of ‘Donato Fuscha,’ a Lombard merchant dwelling at Valencia;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Except in an instance to be alluded to later, this appears to be a corollary of the evidence as yet adduced. *Obra de Malaga* is mentioned as late as 1517, but in smaller quantities. But the counterdistinction of lusted from other wares in the trade designations given in these texts offers many difficulties. It appears to the writer that certain varieties in which lustre played a subsidiary ornamental part, as in some foliage patterns (the *feuillages pers* so favoured in Italy, for example) may be included among the non-‘Malagan’ pottery.

<sup>2</sup> The importation at Pisa, of majolica by the *grossa* and *giarra* (= 30 dozen pieces) is mentioned by Giovanni da Uzzano in 1442. (See HMW, 6, note 1.) The method of exporting is corroborated by René of Anjou’s accounts. “22 août 1478 . . . pareille somme de quatre escus au souleil pour avoir apporté et présenté au roy une grant jarle, plaine de vaisselle de terre de Valence,” etc. G. Arnaud d’Agnel, *op. cit.*, II, 369.

<sup>3</sup> Osma, *op. cit.*, II, 56, 136.

<sup>4</sup> Osma, II, 31, 107.

and, in 1492, those of 'Nicolao and Francisco de Enexo,' Florentine merchants,<sup>1</sup> through whose hands doubtless some of the pieces made for Tuscan families passed. Native exporters are too numerous to mention.

To reproduce Señor de Osma's conclusions as to the equivalent modern prices of different wares and ceramic articles would be outside our scope, so delicate are the conclusions as to the objects themselves and their ornament, and so lengthy the method of appreciating monetary values at different epochs between 1400-1500. But one phase of the question of the price received by the Moors for their wares deserves notice. Payment was made in money, but more often in kind;<sup>2</sup> in cobalt, lead and tin, the constituents of ceramic decoration and enamel; in grain and other articles of diet; in horses and mules; in textile fabrics and garments. A pair of silk gloves and a sword, stipulated against six florins out of a total of forty-nine—the whole to be paid in clothes—shed a good light upon the circumstances of a Manises master-potter, a Moor, in 1449.

Doubts regarding ornamentation and shape are, unfortunately, too often the accompaniment of the perusal of these texts. The objects are enumerated, often in great variety, but never described. We propose, nevertheless, to quote from one or two of the more important agreements.

By a contract of December 11, 1414, 'Maymo, son of Hacmet Albani,' of Manises, was to deliver to the Lombard merchant Donato Fuscha, within a month, at the Grao:

... septingentos viginti pots engerrats unius libre et unius libre et medie bones mercantibiles et receptibiles factos a la domasquina secundum mostram quam michi tradidistis dauratos et de çafre argentatos . . .

The pots were to be packed (engerrats) ready for export. They were to be of one or one-and-a-half libra capacity and made in the Damascene style or manner (*a la domasquina*) according to pattern furnished by Fuscha.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that the vessels were to be lusted

<sup>1</sup>Osma, II, 64, 143.

<sup>2</sup>Osma, II, 37-42.

<sup>3</sup>Osma, II, 31, 40, 107. The 720 (=5 gross) were to cost 11 libras (= 44 sueldos per gross), and for payment there were to be accepted "duas pecias cotoninarum ver-guades (?striped) albas," one as deposit, the other upon completion of the order.

(*auratos*) and that their decoration included a glaze coloured with oxide of cobalt (*de çafre...*); but the technical sense of *argentatos* is altogether obscure, while the signification attachable at that period to *à la domasquina*, with meaning, an imitation of the actual Damascus pottery, has been already touched upon.

Another agreement of 1414<sup>1</sup> affords a better idea of the forms to which the lustre pigment was then applied. 'Çahat Almale ser-racenus magister operis terre vicinus loci de Manizes' agreed on May 15 of that year to deliver at the Grao within two months from date, to the order of Joan Bou, beside three thousand small and two thousand large, enamelled tiles,

et unam dotzenam de *alfabeguers* operis terre de Malequa dauratam, mediam dotzenam de redons et mediam de guayrats.

[and one dozen *flower-pots* of Malaga ware, lustred, one half-dozen circular and one half square (?).

Item quatuor *gerras* magnas operis Paterne duas enverniçatas et alias duas non.

Item, four large *jars* of Paterna ware [i.e. unlustred] two enamelled and two not.

Item quatuor dotzenas de *plats* dauratos et bene operatos ita magnos sicut poterint fieri et qualibet dotzena sit de opere in suo modo.

Item, four doz. lustred *dishes*, well made, and as large as can be, each doz. to be of its own kind [? in design and ornament] of work.

Item sexdecim dotzenas de *scudelles grealenques* dauratas.

Item, sixteen doz. lustred *bowls* [? chalice shaped, or, like the *graal*, hexagonal, with two handles].

Item quatuor dotzenas de *scudelles ab orelles* dauratas.

Item, four doz. lustred *porringers* with 'ears' [see fig. 17].

Item quatuor dotzenas de *planters* medie sortis dauratos videlizet *talladors* plans.

Item, four doz. lustred . . . of medium size, or *trenchers*.

Item octo dotzenas de *greallets* dauratos.

Item, eight doz. small *cups*, lustred.]

Five other items were to be of white ware (*scudelles albas*, etc.), doubtless the enamelled, unlustred variety known to us as 'blue and white.'

During the latter part of the century, the vicissitudes of the trade

<sup>1</sup>Osmá, op. cit., II, 33, 106 (doc. 16).

in lustre are not so clear; the documents, which appear to be scarce, refer almost exclusively to tiles or to sections of the industry which the present writer, at least, hesitates to suppose included the *obra de Malaga*.

In 1517, monopolist abuses drew from the jurats of Valencia an ordinance<sup>1</sup> fixing the price of numerous articles of everyday consumption or use. The state of things as regards pottery, the local speciality, apparently called for no little attention from the city fathers, whose edict referred specially to wares of ordinary make and to those manufactured in Valencia. Inclusion of the lustred variety raises the question, therefore, whether it was then actually made in the city, especially in view of the Manises potters' regulation of 1614, prohibiting the retail of their blue and lustred wares within the metropolis, and which is supposed to have crystallized their traditional policy. Certain items of the 1517 ordinance, which mentions an extraordinary variety of vessels, concern unlustred ones qualified as *morisques* or *de moro*, and:

Los scudelles de malica grosses valguen dos per hun diner.  
Item los plats grossos de dita sort valga cascu hun diner.

....

Les çafes de maliqua vulga cascuna tres diners.

The student of the Hispano-Moresque ware of Valencia cannot but be surprised at the oblivion into which the history of the Buyls has fallen. What an examination of their archives would reveal, did they exist, can be imagined from the intimate connexion the family is seen to have enjoyed with Manises and the lustre art, a connexion which survived the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. Five years after that event, on April 6, 1614, the signature "Yo don Felip Boyl señor de Manises" was appended to the statutes of the guild dedicated to St. Hippolytus, into which the potters incorporated themselves, and which, as lord of the locality, he was called upon to approve.<sup>2</sup>

And the ceramic remains of the Buyls? It might well be supposed that their insignia would have been found upon a number of

<sup>1</sup>Oasma, II, 77, 157.

<sup>2</sup>Oasma, II, 167.

specimens of every variety of ornamentation and shape. Nor can it be doubted that during their long tenure of Manises, the services and other pieces made for the Buyls, could they be reconstituted, would form an index to the lustre industry that developed and flourished under their ægis. But a detailed acquaintance with the principal collections of Valencian ware, either in the original or from reproductions, warrants the writer's opinion that the extant pieces bearing the Buyl arms are few indeed.

To the extremely fine specimen in the Salting collection (Victoria and Albert Museum) emblazoned with the Buyl banner quarterly of castles and oxen,<sup>1</sup> the writer can now add a later piece, in the Lyons Museum (fig. 1), which, though badly worn and cracked, is nearly as interesting as the former. In the official catalogue it is described as follows:<sup>2</sup>

250. Grand plat dit *Cordoncillos*. Très large bord et filets saillants, blasonné au centre d'un écu: Ecartelé, au 1 et 4 au bœuf de... , au 2 et 3 à la tour de Castille. Les filets sont mi-parti d'émail bleu et à lustre métallique, et tout le reste du plat est couvert d'un petit décor à traits serrés et parallèles dit à notes de musique. Revers à plumes. Reflets rouge auréo-cuivreux. Valence, xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Acquis en 1886. Diam. 0,45 [i.e. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches].

The ornament is the diapering of dots and stalks, derived, as the existence of an intermediate stage of pattern would appear to establish,<sup>3</sup> from the smaller vine leaf of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. This style flourished in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, dishes bearing the insignia of whom or of the first and second dukes of Villahermosa, their ribbing heightened in blue, are in the South Kensington and British Museum collections.<sup>4</sup>

It will be observed that the shield upon the specimen under consideration gives the Buyl quarterings in reversed order: the ox being 1-4, the castle 2-3. This, by a mere coincidence as it would appear, is also the order adopted for the arms upon Sir Philip Buyl's surcoat (fig. 2), in a somewhat older representation to be described

<sup>1</sup>HMW, pl. xiv.

<sup>2</sup>'Catalogue sommaire des musées de la ville de Lyons,' p. 320. (1899.)

<sup>3</sup>HMW, pl. iv.

<sup>4</sup>HMW, pl. xxix, pp. 92, 93.



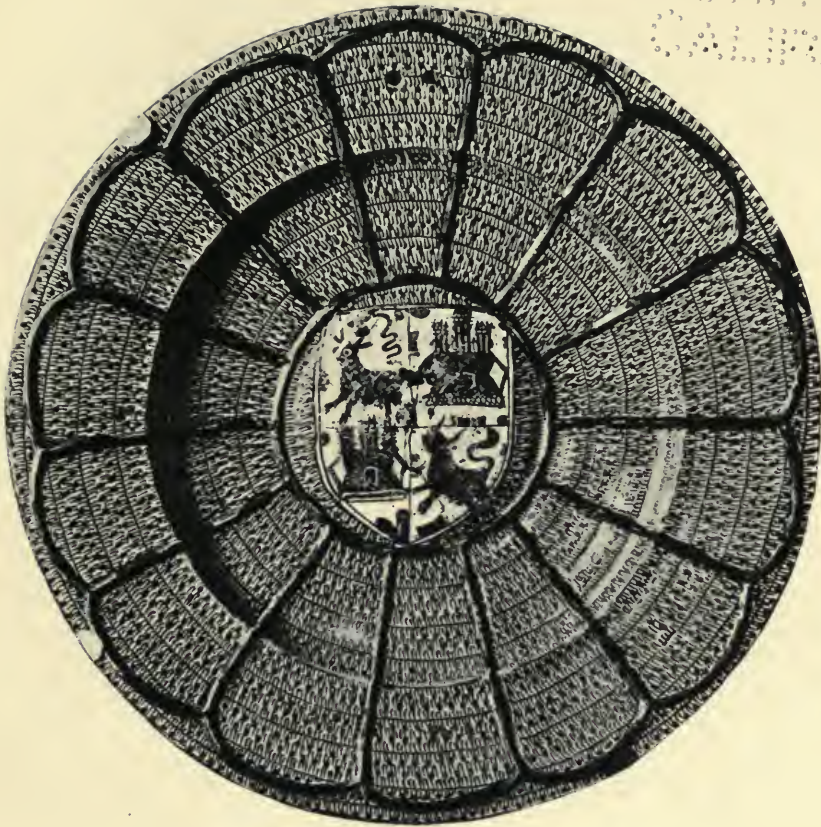


FIG. 1. DISH WITH ARMS OF BUYL. VALENCIA (MANISES),  
LATE XV CENTURY

*To face page 18*

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or initials, located in the upper left quadrant of the page. The text is faint and difficult to decipher, appearing to consist of several lines of cursive or shorthand writing.

later on. The design of the achievement can only be described as a caricature. The walls of the Buyl castle, or *solar*, are falling inwards and its gate is askew. But other details—the rendering of the battlemented towers and the feet of the oxen—reveal the facile skill of the armorist in lustre.

Before leaving this relic of the lords of Manises, the corollary it suggests, in common with four-fifths of the ware known as Hispano-Moresque, may perhaps be formulated. That the employment of armory, the device so prominently and consistently affected in the decoration of the Valencian wares, was originally due to the dependence of the industry upon certain houses of the local nobility, but principally upon the Buyls.

The history of the house of Buyl, Boyl or Boil, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century is outlined in the pedigree published (1564) by the Valencian chronicler Martin de Vicianá, who has recorded also in a concise but singularly explicit passage, the ceramic reputation of the Manises of his day.<sup>1</sup> Vicianá traces the line from Pedro de Buyl (d. 1323) beyond whom it was impossible, apparently, to carry back the family-tree. This Pedro, he asserts, was descended from one who came in at the conquest of Valencia, and he in turn was of the progeny of Garcia Aznares, who retired, before the Arabs, to the Pyrenean valley of Gallan, in the eighth century.

As in other European countries with the Norman Conquest or the Crusades, participation in the re-conquest of 1238 was claimed for their ancestors by numerous Valencian families. Jaime Febrer who, in his 'Trobas,' celebrates the presence and describes the arms of the participators in that memorable achievement, furnished the Buyls a progenitor in the conqueror 'Benet Boil.' But Febrer wrote in the fifteenth century, at which epoch the Buyls had become far too important to be omitted in treating of an event that touched local nobiliary standing and pride of descent. Had the existence of 'Benet Boil' rested upon tangible evidence, it is unlikely that Vicianá would have been content to commence the family-tree in the early

<sup>1</sup>Segunda parte de la Crónica de Valencia,' reprinted by the Sociedad Valenciana de Bibliófilos, p. 95. For text of passage, see HMW., p. 73 (note 1).

fourteenth century, or, at least, to have ignored that personage altogether. The partition-roll of the kingdom of Valencia is silent as to the claim, advanced for the Buyls, to have figured in the re-conquest. Moreover, the facts concerning the rise of families are notoriously so different from what is held on tradition, that the strange coincidence of nomenclature (if such it be), offered by an entry in the roll cannot be passed unnoticed, even in view of the testamentary donation that vouches for Garcia Aznares de Buyl, in the year 1143, given by Viciana, circumstantial though it be. On July 9, 1237, the year before the fall of the city of Valencia, James II of Aragon granted Bétera and *Boyla* to Lope Martinez, commander of Alcañiz in the order of Calatrava; the former locality was, in the following century, owned by the Buyls. Paterna and Manises, the latter a possession of the house destined to become famous, had been similarly granted, a day earlier, to Don Artal de Luna:

De alqueriis et villis franche datis

Anno Domini MCCXXX septimo

Artallus de Luna: alqueriam de Paterna et de Manizes. vii idus julii.

Fr Lupus Martini commendator de Alcaniz: villas sive alquerias de Bétera et Boyla. viii idus julii.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest documentary evidence throwing light upon the Buyls' tenure of Manises, known to the writer, occurs in a letter from Peter IV of Aragon to his kinsman, the count of Denia, of February 27, 1362 (o.s.), upon the prevailing feuds among the Valencian nobility. From this it appears that the lordship of the Buyls at this epoch could not be characterized as entirely a peaceful one. After stating that the dissensions between Berenguer de Vilaragut and Rodrigo Diç (Diaz) had come to his ears, the monarch continues:

<sup>1</sup>'Registrum donationum regni Valentie,' in P. de Bofarull's 'Coleccion de documentos ineditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragon,' xi, 371. 1856. Escolano states, of Manises, that Artal de Luna "... le posseya en el año mil docientos sessenta y tres.' Various instances of the adoption of place-names as surnames are given by Madramany y Calatayud, 'Tratado de la nobleza de la corona de Aragon,' p. 61, and appendix iii.

As also between Don Peter Bohil, son of Don Philip, and Don Johan de Bellvis, on account of Manises, and you know that each of them is powerful and has many friends throughout Valencia and the kingdom, and if they go to war or quarrel, a great portion of the kingdom of Valencia will be involved.<sup>1</sup>

To the lordship of Manises the Buyls joined, at this period, that of Mislata, which is known to have been a lustre-producing locality in 1434, as at the epoch of Popplau's visit, half a century later.<sup>2</sup> Altadona de la Escala, wife of the earliest authentic member of the house, is qualified lady of Mislata, and in 1354 'Petrus Boyl cujus est locus de Mizlata' took the oath of allegiance to the infante Don Juan, son of Peter IV, and afterwards John I of Aragon.<sup>3</sup>

In 1392, Philip de Boil, lord of Manises, and Antonio de Vilargut, lord of Alacuas, were parties to a suit before the magistrates of Valencia as to the right of taking clay, for the manufacture of pottery, from a locality unnamed, the Justice of Paterna being required to ensure the attendance of certain witnesses from Paterna before the said magistrates.<sup>4</sup>

The name of Buyl is frequently encountered in the annals of Aragon and Valencia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but it is not always possible to identify these occurrences with the individuals in Vician's pedigree, which is a very scanty and incom-

<sup>1</sup>"Axi mateix entre en Pere Bohil fill den Philip é en Johan de Bellvis, per questió del loch de Manises é cascú dels dessús dit sabets que son homens poderosos é fort amigats en Valence é en lo regne, é si ells eren en guerra ni en brega, gran partida del Regne de Valencia hi sera." (Archives of Aragon, Barcelona, no. 1184, fol. 1.) J. Coroleu, op. cit., pp. 19, 20. 1889. From the appended pedigree it is seen that the house of Bellvis or Belvis was directly connected by marriage with the Buyl; the mother of Pedro Buyl, appointed governor of Valencia in 1356, and probably referred to by the king, being a Teresa de Bellvis; through her Manises seems to have come to the Buyls, the disputant Johan de Bellvis being apparently next male of that house.

<sup>2</sup>Llorente, 'Historia de Valencia,' II, 471-2, and Osma, op. cit., I, 21, give the 1434 document. For Popplau, see HMW, p. 9. A bowl with the arms of the Urreas, lords of Mislata after 1497, has been published by the writer, op. cit., pl. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup>Also 'Petrus Boyl cujus est locus de Picacen' (Picasent), and a 'Ludovicus Boyl' Bofarull y Mascaró's 'Coleccion de Documentos,' VI, 300. 1850.

<sup>4</sup>Osma, I, pp. 9-10.

plete outline of the history<sup>1</sup> of a house that played a foremost part in Valencian political and industrial affairs.

The acts of most of the Buyls have passed deep into the oblivion that shrouds, if more deservedly, the similar records of many of their contemporaries. If the sixteenth century laid no claim to the writing of family history as the term is understood to-day, it is evident, nevertheless, that, of the Buyls, the existence of some, the affiliation of others and the dates of most, were unknown to Viciana. While the student of Valencian pottery is concerned alone with the Buyls that held Manises, the fact that in 1442 a member of the other branch visited England, was knighted by Henry VI, and afterwards 'offered up his harneys at Wyndesore,' renders their general history of some interest to English antiquaries. The chivalric prowess of this Buyl is the subject of a precious iconographical record, that is probably the only existing representation of a member of the house, with the exception of the figures upon the monument formerly in the convent of Saint Dominic, Valencia.<sup>2</sup>

But before passing to the episode thus perpetuated, there should be mentioned yet another, exhibiting a Buyl upon a similar chivalric errand, also beyond the limits of his native land, at an earlier date. In the Portuguese Chronicle of Don Pedro de Meneses, count of Viana, by Gomes Eannes de Zurara, is related an incident which took place in the former's period of office as governor of Ceuta, which supervened upon its conquest by the sons of John I of Portugal, in 1415. According to Eannes, the count received a letter from the king of Castile [John II] requesting him 'to hold a field' between a knight of his court, Lope Alfonso de Montemolin, and one of the king of Aragon's household, named 'Mosem Filippe Buir.' The efforts of Don Pedro de Meneses to dissuade the combatants from

<sup>1</sup>The only special work upon the history of the Buyls would appear to be the unfindable 'Memorial de sus ascendientes de la Casa de Boil,' by "Don Petrus Boil de Arenos, Baron de Boil and Porriol (sic) in Aragonia et Toparcha oppidorum Alfarfar et Marzanasa in regno Valentino," c. 1670, catalogued in Franckenau's 'Bibliotheca hispanica historico-genealogico-heraldica,' pp. 330-1. 1724.

<sup>2</sup>Carderera y Solano, 'Iconografía Española, pl. xxiii, xxiv; Museo español de Antigüedades, I, 235. See HMW, p. 74.



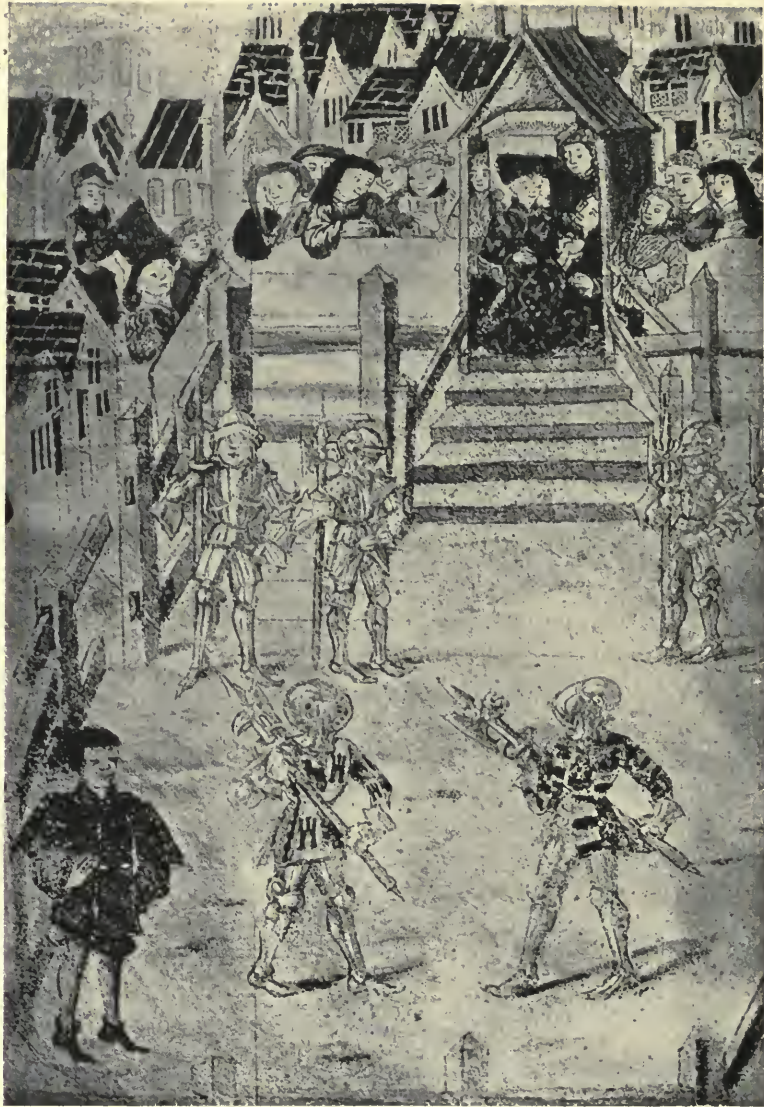


FIG. 2. COMBAT OF SIR PHILIP BUYL AND JOHN ASTLEY, BEFORE  
HENRY VI, AT SMITHFIELD, 1441-42

(From the 'Archæologia.')

To face page 23



their intention, seeing that (as the chronicler reports) 'two such knights were rather given for the service of God, i.e. war with the infidel, than for fighting each other over such a trifle,' were without avail. In the encounter which followed, the Castilian's lance missed his opponent, but that of the Catalan, more accurate in aim, pierced his adversary's Milanese armour, wounding him in the hip. Before they could proceed to the bout with axes they were led from the lists, as having well and loyally discharged their duty; after which, Eannes states, they were reconciled through the count's offices, and he and the rest of the nobility at Ceuta did them much honour, etc.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that the '*Filippe Buir*' that visited Ceuta in, or shortly after 1415, is one of the three fifteenth century bearers of the name found in the Buyl pedigree, but it is impossible to decide which, the dates of their decease being unknown. That this Philip Buyl belonged to the collateral line is the more probable.

To the personality of another Buyl, a namesake of him of Ceuta, some similar uncertainty attaches, but from the circumstance that in one document he is termed a baron of Aragon, there can be little doubt that he belonged to the younger branch, and was brother or nephew to the Buyl, viceroy of the Abruzzi under Alfonso V.

The participation of this Sir Philip Buyl in a similar encounter with John Astley, then an esquire, at Smithfield, London, on January 30, 1441-42, before King Henry VI, is attested by, among other records, a manuscript belonging to Lord Hastings, that contains also a drawing of the fight which, with the sanction of its owner, we are able to reproduce here (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The drawing shows King Henry VI, with his suite, in a pavilion at one end of the lists, behind which rise the roofs of the City with (slightly to the south-east?) a church, probably Saint Bartholomew the Great. The populace have

<sup>1</sup>'Chronica do Conde Dom Pedro de Menezes,' cap 11. 1790. For text of passage see Appendix II (A).

<sup>2</sup>For an account of the MS, see 'On a Ms. collection of ordinances of chivalry of the fifteenth century, belonging to Lord Hastings,' by Harold Arthur, Viscount Dillon, in the *Archæologia*, LVII, 29. 1900. The writer is indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and to Viscount Dillon for permission to reproduce the facsimile of the drawing published in the *Archæologia*.

crowded to the barricades; some are viewing the scene from a window or a roof. Within the lists, near the approach to the pavilion, are men-at-arms; there is also a herald, his tabard the quarterly arms of France and England; and the combatants. The fight has apparently reached its second or axe stage, the occurrence of which is corroborated by Stow in a passage to be cited later. Buyl and Astley face each other in the foreground; they are clad in plate armour and are armed with two-handed axes. Both wear emblazoned surcoats with sleeves. Astley's bears quarterly of Astley and Harcourt, with a label ermine over all. Buyl's presents an inversion of the shield of his house, in that the artist has quartered oxen and castles in the wrong order. Further, 1-4, or a lion gules; 2-3, argent a triple-towered castle gules, is a reading<sup>1</sup> of the blazon which, though incorrect in yet another detail, shows the tinctures depicted to be in substantial agreement with those of the arms actually borne by the Buyls. Shorn of sixteenth century meticolation, Vician's version of the arms (1-4, argent a castle gules; 2-3, vert an ox or) differs in one detail only from those assigned to the Aragonese in the drawing, i.e. in the field of the ox quartering, which was undoubtedly borne vert, as the writer was able to convince himself from an examination of the shields upon the fourteenth century Buyl tomb in the Archæological Museum at Valencia.<sup>2</sup> The articles or conditions put forth by Buyl throw a certain amount of light upon the encounter and its attendant circumstances. The preamble commences:

Be hit so that i philyp boyle knyth of the rem de aragon was enchargid for to fyght w<sup>t</sup> a knyth or w<sup>t</sup> a squyere & for a special for to serve my sovereyn lorde le tres excelent et trespuissant p<sup>re</sup>ce le roye de aragon et de cisule scelon w<sup>t</sup> more for the which i mighte not be delyverid of my seide enpris for de faughte de acumis of them of the rem of ffrance wherefore I am come

<sup>1</sup>Viscount Dillon, op. cit., p. 37; it is to be observed moreover that Buyl's surcoat is not emblazoned with "the royal arms of Aragon," nor indeed with the arms of any of the Spanish States, although a general resemblance to the arms of Castile-Leon results from reading 1-4, as lions. But there can be no doubt that the charge in question is an ox, and not a lion.

<sup>2</sup>HMW p. 74, and pl. xiv.

into the rem of yngelande & into the corte & precens of the hei maieste de treshaughte, treslustre victorius p'nce le roye de angleter et de ffrance le chief de onour vayleour et prouues & be a supplicacioun & be a special grace I have grete leve to bere a devise in this nobill corte be the moian of the which i mai be delivered of my seide charge the wheche i declare these artiklis here suinge.

The five articles stipulate that the combat is to take place upon horseback, the parties being armed at their pleasure, but without "ony fals engyne"; that his opponent's sword, or helm or other headgear accrue to the victor; that if not decided on the first day, the combat should continue on the morrow with the weapons then remaining; "wrastelynge" with hands and feet to be allowed. In the fifth article it is stated that the day is to be appointed by Buyl "for by cause my hors & my harneis is in flaundris," the battle to ensue eight days after their arrival, but that if they fail to come in reasonable time, then the encounter to be on foot, armed at "our volunte," with option of axe, spear, sword and dagger as before. The document closes:

These seide armys weryn compleide be john astley squier the xxx dai of ianvier w<sup>t</sup> in smithfelde be for the kinge herri the VI . . . of his regne xx and whanne the seide iohñ hadde done his armys thanne hit likyd the kyng of his hines to make him knyth the same day & gaf him. Cm<sup>arcs</sup> for terme of his lyffe in the yere of grace a M<sup>ccccxliij</sup>.

The Chronicle of London, written by William Gregory, mayor of the city in 1451-52, mentions the encounter, and states that Buyl was accompanied by his son.<sup>1</sup>

And the xxx day of Janyver was certayne poyntys of armys done in Smithfylde by twyne a knyght of Catelan and a Engelysch squyer, i-callyde Syr John Ascheley; of the whiche tyme the sone of the sayde knyght, in presens of alle the peopulle there, was made knyght opynly by the kyngys owne handys. And the sayde John Asycheley also was made knyght att the same tyme.

A detailed account of the combat is given by Stow:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>William Gregory's 'Chronicle of London,' Camden Society, 1876, p. 184. Gregory's will was proved 1466-67.

<sup>2</sup>'A Survey of London,' p. 385. 1603. The reprint edited by C. L. Kingsford (1908, II, p. 31), fails to clear up the identity of the combatants. Stow's first edition, upon

In the yeare 1442. the twentieth of Henry the sixt the thirteenth of Ianuary, a challenge was done in Smithfield within listes, before the King, there being sir *Phillip la Beaufe* of Aragon knight, the other an Esquier of the kings house, called *Iohn Ansley* or *Anstley*, they came to the field all armed, the knight with his sword drawne and the Esquier with his speare, which speare he cast against the knight, but the knight auoyded it with his sword, & cast it to the ground, then the Esquier took his axe, & smote many blowes on the knight, and made him let fall his axe, and brake up his vंबर three times, and would have smit him on the face with his dagger, for to have slayne him, but then the king cried hold, and so they were departed: the king made *Iohn Ansley* knight, and the knight of Aragon offered his harnesses at Windsor.

That the royal largesse was likewise extended to Buyl appears from an entry in the Exchequer Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 20 Henry VI, to the following effect:

24th February [1441-42]. . . . To Sir Philip Boyle, knight and a baron of Arragon, who lately upon royal license granted him, performed certain feats of arms in the presence of the said Lord the King in Smithfield, with John Astley, a faithful and beloved subject of the said Lord the King. In money paid him in discharge of 100*l.* which the said Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said Philip to be had of his gift. By writ, &c.—100*l.*<sup>1</sup>

which he had spent eight years, appeared in 1598. One of his authorities is known to have been a short English MS. chronicle, written *c.* 1464, now in Lambeth Palace Library, which contains the following passage: "Anno XX [Henry VI]. . . . And this yere was a chalenge previd with in lystis in Smythfelde a for the kyng of a knyght of Aragon and John Asshley, squyer, the whiche Asshley had the felde, and of the kynges honde was made knyght in the felde for his wele doynge. And the lorde of Aragon after that offered up his harneys at Wyndesore." 'Three fifteenth-century chronicles with historical memoranda by John Stowe, the antiquary,' etc. Camden Society, 1880, pp. 63-64.

<sup>1</sup>F. Devon, 'Issues of the Exchequer from King Henry III to King Henry VI inclusive,' p. 442. 1837. We have relegated to Appendix II (B) some historical gleanings concerning the presence of Aragonese and other Spanish knights at the courts of England and Burgundy in the mid-fifteenth century.

Collection of Otto Beit, Esq.

Breadth across handles, 7 in.; diameter of bowl, 5 in.; depth,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in.

ORNAMENT: Ovals containing the smaller alafia inscription and spirals, alternating with the tree-of-life agrafes; all in lustre pigment. On the back, circles of wavy lines.

**T**HE discovery of an early *scudella ab orelles*<sup>1</sup> (cf. fig. 17)—brought to the knowledge of the writer by Mr Murray Marks, and here reproduced by permission of its owner (this work having then passed through the press)—is of much importance in connexion with the large dish at Sèvres reproduced in HMW, pl. vi.

The date previously assigned to the dish, and which community of armorials would apply to the scudella, was 1419-41: the insignia denoting the union of Blanche of Évreux, the widow of Martin of Aragon the younger, king of Sicily (d. 1409), and herself queen-heiress of Navarre, with John of Aragon, the brother and ultimately successor of Alfonso V (1416-58).

To Appendix I, has been relegated a discussion<sup>2</sup> of the discrepancy between the armorials upon the seals (fig. 33) of Blanche and John, sovereigns of Navarre, and those (fig. 34) presented by the dish at Sèvres, identical with the piece under consideration: in these, the two halves of the combined achievement as officially

<sup>1</sup> As would appear from the traces of a 'spur' on the vessel's interior, it is in reality a 'waster,' or piece rejected after manufacture, a theory confirmation of which is afforded by the story of its having come to light, together with a number of fragments, in the course of recent excavation at Valencia. To contact with the soil must, therefore, be attributed the unusual quality of the enamel upon the inside surface, the whole of which presents a ruby *reflet*.

The ornamentation is practically that of the Sèvres dish, if by a less dextrous hand; the potting is of a high order. Matured traditions of manufacture are indicated by the splaying of opposite edges upon the under sides of the 'ears,' which is found to contribute greatly to the easy handling of the vessel.

<sup>2</sup> p. 78; and also as to whether the Sèvres example could have been made for Mary of Aragon, the sister-in-law of Blanche of Navarre, in 1454. 'Scudelles ab orelles' (see also p. 16) are not specified in the order (p. 12), but the last two items on the list may have included these vessels.

borne, are reversed. Moreover, the certainty that after the death of the queen of Navarre in 1441, John (d. 1479) retained the sovereignty of that state (using the same arms as king of Navarre), in spite of the existence of an heir, Charles of Viana (d. 1461), would appear to postulate a later date for the pottery bearing such armorials. On the other hand, the no less notable fact that, of the arms found upon Valencian lusted ware, many consist of the impaled combinations denoting alliance by marriage which are properly the insignia of married women; to say nothing as to the propriety of a custom by which earthenware services were decorated with their arms<sup>3</sup> would rather indicate that this and the Sèvres specimen were indeed made for the lady whose exemplification they bear. As regards the system of impalement followed here, it is remarkable that the combination represented bears the closest structural resemblance to Blanche's earlier arms as consort (1402-09) of Martin the younger of Aragon, and queen of Sicily,<sup>4</sup> a marshalling which, one may suppose, was followed in this instance to exemplify the consort of the Aragonese heir-apparent and duchess of Gandía, a Valencian magnate, without reference to the precedence that had been necessitated by her succession in 1425 to the neighbouring crown of Navarre. The marshalling of Aragon with Castile-Leon in flank made its appearance in 1427, the year after John obtained the duchy of Gandía.<sup>5</sup> His remarriage, with Johanna Henriquez, in 1444, and succession to the throne of Aragon in 1458, are other circumstances of import to the armorials of this and the Sèvres piece.

<sup>3</sup> See HMW, p. 37, for the system from which it would appear that the arms of royal ladies were deliberately preferred in earthenware decoration.

<sup>4</sup> Aragon saltired by the imperial eagle impaling Navarre and Évreux per fesse. F. de Sagarra, 'Notes referents als segells del rei Martí,' p. 17. 1911.

<sup>5</sup> Osma, 'Apuntes,' I.







### III

#### FIGURE 3

The property of Monsieur Seligmann. Diameter 19 inches; 48c. 3m.  
ORNAMENT: Inscriptions in blue, their outlines, the spirals, hatching, etc., in lustre.

ARMS: A mount of one coupeau surmounted by a demy fleur-de-llys, in gold upon the cream ground colour.

IT is of considerable interest to compare this fine specimen with the two examples in the same style previously illustrated by the writer: (*a*) the dish exhibited by the late Earl Spencer at the Victoria and Albert Museum (HMW, frontispiece), and (*b*) that in the British Museum (HMW, pl. v).

The ornament of the dish here reproduced, presents a combination of the principal features used in both the other examples cited, but its brim has, also, a border of simulated inscription of a cursive type not infrequently employed upon the finest pieces with inscriptions. Moreover, the disposition of the decoration in the centre is identical, except in the minutest details, with (*b*) the British Museum dish, and it was executed, apparently, by the same bold, somewhat careless hand. But the shield is that on (*a*) the late Earl Spencer's more carefully decorated example; it is the canting coat of numerous Valencian and Catalan families with names derived from, or compounds of the Catalan *puig* (a mount or hill); Despuig, Pujades, and others. The difference in the design of the *monte florlisado*, in both specimens, is very marked: in the present instance, the mount being less out of proportion.<sup>1</sup> In shape, the dish presents a variation between the forms of the Spencer and British Museum examples. The former has a deep 'shoulder'; the latter, none; the present one is an intermediate type, and has a medium 'shoulder.'

<sup>1</sup>In addition to the piece here illustrated, a dish with foliage of the smaller leaves, alternately in blue and lustre, and the *monte florlisado* shield, figured at Paris, in 1904, in the dispersal of an anonymous collection. See 'Catalogue des anciennes faiences de Rouen, . . . provenant de la collection de M. de B. . . , anciennes faiences hispanomoresques, provenant de la collection de M. N. . .' Vente, 12-13 décembre, 1904. Lot 267 (diameter, 37 cm.; 14 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.).

As (*b*) the British Museum specimen bears the arms of a branch of the royal house of Aragon that became extinct in the male line in 1434, and as the ornamentation of the dish under consideration is apparently by the same decorator, its approximate date would be correctly stated as between 1425-50.

A somewhat extraordinary instance of the same parallelism in the employment of decorative motives, that has been noticed in the case of this dish and in that of late Earl Spencer, is revealed by two others of the group, in Mr Godman's,<sup>1</sup> and in the Dutuit collection (Palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris),<sup>2</sup> respectively. In these, the coat of arms with concentric bands of *alafia* inscriptions and trees-of-life are absent; their centres are occupied by representations of the tree-of-life between two female figures: those upon Mr Godman's dish are depicted in the (ritual?) acts of inhaling the perfume from a flower, and of drinking from a cup. The figures upon the Dutuit dish are armless, but are depicted in like manner, facing the tree.

Another dish that belongs to the tree-of-life group, with inscriptions, is that of which the fragments were excavated at Bristol. In this specimen, the tree grows out of an elaborate arabesque in base, and is portrayed between two antelopes standing upon bands of *alafia* lettering; its shape is identical with that of the vessel under consideration, the cursive inscription being employed upon the brim.<sup>3</sup>

The ornamental, dimensional and other analogies discovered in the various dishes cited in the present note tend to indicate an extremely close tradition of facture, such as one would suppose to have existed only at such a centre as Manises, to which, as examples of *obra de malaga*, they must be attributed. Their analysis results as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue, pl. xxvii, No. 460.

<sup>2</sup> G. Cain's 'Collection Dutuit,' gives a reproduction in colours, with a note by M. Gaston Migeon.

<sup>3</sup> See reproduction in 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London,' xviii, 331, 1901. A peculiarity of this specimen, which is now in the British Museum, is the unusually pale shade of blue employed in the inscriptions and other ornamentation.

*Ornament and dimensions of Six Dishes of the Inscribed Group (Armorial and Tree-of-life Varieties).*

OWNER:	Earl Spencer	Dutuit Collection, Paris	Mr F. D. Godman	British Museum	Monsieur Seligmann	British Museum
REPRODUCED:	HMW (1904) frontispiece	'Collection Dutuit,' by G. Cain	Catalogue pl. xxvii	Society of Antiquaries' Proceedings, xviii, 331	This work fig. 3	HMW (1904) pl. v
Dish:						
shape	deep	deep	shallow	shallow	shallow	ordinary
shoulder	tall	tall	medium	medium	medium	(none)
diameter	19 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. 49 c. 6	18 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. 48 c.	18 in. 45 c. 8	17 in. 43 c. 2	19 in. 48 c. 3	17 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. 45 c. 5
Ornament:						
centre A.	arms: mount and fleur-de-lys				arms: mount and fleur-de-lys	arms of Aragon-Prades
„ B.	4 radiating bands <i>alafia</i> & 4 'agrafes'	tree-of-life & 2 human figures	tree-of-life & 2 human figures	tree-of-life and 2 antelopes	4 concentric bands <i>alafia</i> and 4 'agrafes', variant of 'spur-band'	4 concentric bands <i>alafia</i> and 4 'agrafes' (none)
shoulder	6 concentric bands <i>alafia</i> and 4 'agrafes'	4 concentric bands <i>alafia</i> and 4 'agrafes'	arabesque on dotted ground			
brim	18 pointed compartments	18 pointed compartments	cursive Arabic inscription	cursive Arabic inscription	cursive Arabic inscription	6 concentric bands <i>alafia</i> and 6 'agrafes'

FIGURE 4

Victoria and Albert Museum (481-'64).

DIMENSIONS: Diameter at mouth, 20 in., 50c. 8; height,  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in., 21c.; interior depth,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in., 19c. 1; diameter at base,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in., 14c. 1; height of rim,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in., 3c. 2.

ORNAMENT: The whole of the design is in coppery brown pigment; cream coloured ground; a band of blue runs round the rim. Exterior: 'agrafes' (fig. 5). The lustre varies from reddish violet to opalescent blue.

**B**OTH shape and ornamentation designate this bowl as an example of extraordinary rarity and interest. Upon the blunt cone, which forms its interior surface, is painted a three-masted vessel, its mainsail set, flying flags and pennons from its poop and from a boat carried on deck. The vessel's timbers, sail cloths and reef points are indicated in sgraffiato by lines scratched through the lustre pigment, disclosing the ground colour. Four large fish, either dolphins or porpoises, are depicted swimming below.

The category of Valencian productions to which the bowl belongs is attested by its subsidiary ornamental motives. The spirals upon the background, and the 'agrafes' upon the exterior were all employed contemporarily to the blue *alafia* inscription. The ornament reserved in cream colour, in the three larger compartments round the rim, is of rarer occurrence, but it may be traced upon certain examples in the same style. A small vase in the collection of Mr F. D. Godman<sup>1</sup> (fig. 6), has the agrafes, the inscription, the reserved design in question, and narrow filets of the wedge pattern that appears inside the rim of the bowl. Mr Godman's vase, moreover, has an upper band of pattern, also reserved in ground colour, that was employed upon the drug-vases with the inscription.

The bowl must, consequently, be grouped with the earlier fifteenth century inscribed wares, produced mainly in the reign of Alfonso V

<sup>1</sup>Catalogue, No. 19, p. 29, Plate xxxi. It is 9 inches in height;  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches diameter at mouth. The inscriptions, 'agrafes' and linear patterns are in blue, the remainder of the ornament in brown; the lustre, blue and ruby red.



FIG. 4. BOWL WITH REPRESENTATION OF A PORTUGUESE *NAU*.  
MANISES, EARLY TO MID XV CENTURY

*To face page 30*

Handwritten scribbles consisting of small, illegible marks and characters, possibly representing a signature or a set of initials.





FIG. 5. EXTERIOR OF THE BOWL



FIG. 6. VASE WITH ORNAMENTATION SIMILAR TO THAT EMPLOYED UPON THE 'SHIP' BOWL

(Collection of Mr F. D. Godman, F.R.S.)



of Aragon (1416-58). From the shield of Portugal ancient, upon the mainsail, more direct evidence of date cannot be adduced. Alfonso III (1248-79) added a *bordure gules, charged with seven castles or*, to the arms of Portugal, *Argent, five escucheons azure in cross, each charged with as many plates in saltire*. Upon the accession of John I (1383-1433), the royal arms were charged upon the green cross of the Order of Aviz, of which the monarch had previously held the mastership. Subsequently, as Ruy de Pina, chronicler of John II, explains, by the negligence or ignorance of the painters and officials, this cross found its way into the shield itself; and, in the variety of the royal arms known as Portugal-Aviz, the cross's floriated extremities are depicted, projecting from beneath the shield of Portugal ancient, on to the bordure that had been added in the thirteenth century. By John II (1481-95) this error was rectified, and he, moreover, had the lateral escucheons placed upright,<sup>1</sup> in which position they are found at the present day. The arms upon the bowl show the lateral *quinas* upon their sides as, in fact, they were still depicted in the reign of Alfonso V of Portugal, *O African* (1438-81), with whose reign, as with that of his namesake of Aragon, the bowl is contemporary.

The absence of the bordure, already mentioned, can only be explained upon the grounds that the difficulty of portraying such accessories, in monochrome, appears often to have resulted in their omission altogether.<sup>2</sup> It is true the shield of Portugal ancient, i.e. without the bordure, continued to be borne by branches of the royal house which took the name of Sousa, descended from two sons of Alfonso III, but there is little or nothing to connect the arms in this case with the Sousas, and the quarterings they added to the early Portuguese coat are wanting.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ruy de Pina, 'Chronica d'El Rey D. Joã II,' cap. xix: "Mudança que el Rey fez no escudo real," etc.

<sup>2</sup>See HMW, plates x, xi. In plate XIII, the arms of Isabella of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy (d. 1472), are depicted with an extremely narrow bordure, and without the castles. Curiously enough, in this instance, the lateral escucheons of Portugal are depicted upright, a position they did not assume till John II's reign (1481-95).

<sup>3</sup>The Sousas of Arronches, great chamberlains of Portugal, later counts of Miranda and Marquises of Arronches, quartered Portugal ancient with a lunel (the Sousa de-

Closely connected with the armorial aspect of the bowl is the question which inevitably suggests itself as to the pictorial value, and significance attaching to its chief decorative feature, the ship. It is hard to believe that a representation so unique in its nature,

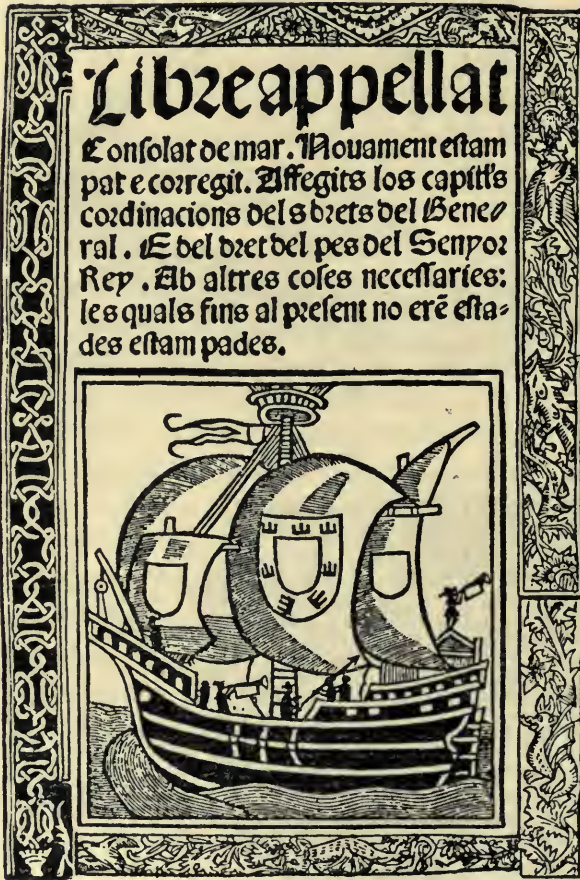


FIG. 7

Isabella, daughter of James of Aragon (II), count of Urgel; their

vice of four crescents joined at the tips). Of this line was Lope Dias de Sousa (d. 1435), Master of the Order of Christ, whose tomb and armorials are illustrated in M. de Sousa Moreyra's 'Theatro historico genealogico,' p. 494. 1694. Another branch, afterwards counts of Prado and marquises das Minas, quartered 2-3, the lion of Leon.

one that involved a departure from the usual ornamental motives employed upon Valencian pottery, was not produced in extraordinary circumstances. The fifteenth century, Portugal's heroic age, was likewise a period of very close relationship with Aragon. King Edward of Portugal, son of John I and Philippa of Lancaster, married in 1428, an Aragonese princess, Eleanor (d. 1445) sister of Alfonso V, to whose reign as has been shown, the bowl, on stylistic grounds, most probably belongs. In the same year, a brother of the Portuguese monarch, Peter, duke of Coimbra (d. 1449), took to wife

son Peter it was, who, during the rebellion, from January 1464 till June 1466, reigned as King, *el Rey intruso*, at Barcelona.

The type of vessel depicted would appear to be the Portuguese *nau* or ship (French *nef*) of the later Middle Ages, which differed from the *caravel* in having a forecastle (castello de proa) and in the cut of its sails, the caravel proper being lateen rigged.<sup>1</sup> So vivid is the design of the vessel that it can hardly be doubted we have here a representation of a Portuguese ship which called at Valencia — a royal vessel — to judge from the insignia upon her sails.<sup>2</sup> That a sketch was made as she lay at the Grao, near the mouth of the Turia or Guadalaviar river, is probable in view of the Valencian port's connexion with the export trade in ceramics, more especially

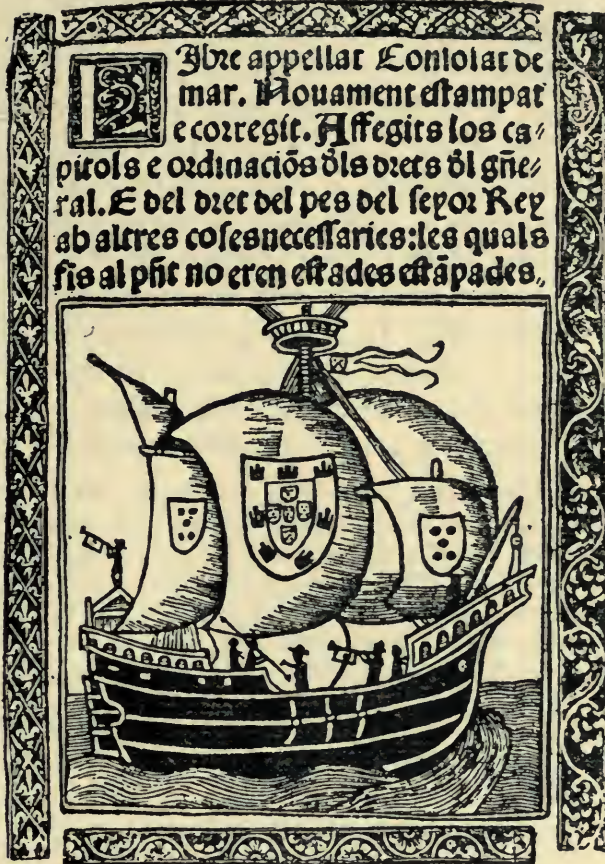


FIG. 8

<sup>1</sup>J. Braz de Oliveira, 'Os navios de Vasco da Gama.' Centenario do descobrimento de America. Memorias da Commissão Portugueza da Exposição Colombino, 1892. For further details as to the vessel figured in the bowl, see 'The Connoisseur,' xv, 163-4. 1906.

<sup>2</sup>Eleanor, daughter of Edward, king of Portugal, and Eleanor, daughter of Ferdi-

in 1451, of the existence there of a warehouse for the productions of Manises, already mentioned.

Valuable representations of the type of ship portrayed, are two woodcuts upon the title-pages of editions of the 'Consolat de Mar,' published by the Barcelona printer, Carlos Amorós, in 1518 and 1523. Why Amorós inserted illustrations of vessels flying the Portuguese arms in his 'Consolat,' which is a Catalan maritime code and compendium, it is impossible to say. Upon the mainsail, in the 1518 edition, only the Portuguese bordure is depicted (fig. 7); but that of the 1523 volume has the complete shield; whilst the sails of the fore- and mizzen-masts bear one of the five escucheons or *quinas* (fig. 8). Among other points of agreement between the woodcut designs and the vessel in the bowl may be specified the massive proportions of the main-mast in the edition of 1518, and the lateen rig of the mizzen, in either.<sup>1</sup>

nand I of Aragon, and wife of the Emperor Frederic III in 1452, left the Tagus in a great Genoese merchantman, covered with cloth of gold, decked out with flags and pennons, and escorted by two other ships of the same nationality and twenty Portuguese caravels. This princess was a niece of Alfonso V of Aragon, who had arranged the marriage. The fleet touched at Ceuta, and the royal vessel, endeavouring to make Corsica, was driven to the Catalan littoral. A. Paz y Melia, 'Matrimonio y coronacion del Emperador Federico III,' *Revista de Archivos*, 3rd series, ix, 377.

<sup>1</sup>For facsimiles of these illustrations from the rare 'Consolat de Mar,' the writer has to thank his friend Don F. de Bofarull, archivist of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona, and Señor Molina.



FIG. 9. DRUG-VASE WITH ARMS OF THE COUNTY OF  
ZEELAND. VALENCIA (MANISES), circa 1475



FIG. 9. DRUG-VASE WITH ARMS OF THE COUNTY OF  
ZEELAND. VALENCIA (MANISES), circa 1475

[Photo M. Dalet

To face page 35

FIGURE 9

Musée des Hospices Civils, Bruges.

Height:  $7\frac{5}{8}$  in., 19 c. 5. (On one side,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  in., 20 c. 2.)

ORNAMENT: Rows of alternately blue and golden vine-leaves springing from horizontal blue runners, encircling the vase; ground, cream colour.

ARMS: Barry wavy of four in base, argent and azure, a lion issuant gules. At the back of the lion's head is a fleur-de-lys or, upon a roundel argent. The lion is in manganese, and its mane and ribs are heightened by scratches through the pigment; the roundel is in cream-colour. The vase's base, the shield-shape and the outline of the top bar wavy are in blue. The blue and manganese have 'run,' to the detriment of the escucheon's general effect.

**T**HE sale of Valencian pottery—'Valenschenwerc'—was declared free of the staple of Bruges, throughout the estuary and canal of the Zwin, by an enactment of Philip III of Burgundy, of the year 1441.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that the designation included lusted wares.

Two Hispano-Moresque dishes which it is desirable to consider here, as their decoration includes the Burgundian ducal arms, have been published by the writer.

That in the Wallace Collection, London (HMW, pl. x), is a specimen of the early fifteenth century variety distinguished by an ornament of five- or six-petalled flowers within encircling stalks, upon a dotted background. This piece has the arms of the ducal house, as borne by John the Fearless and Philip III, between 1404-30.

In the collection of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild is a second dish (HMW, pl. XIII), profusely ornamented with the flower and tendrils that accompany the larger vine-leaf pattern, but which was also used as a distinct motive. It has four shields of arms: in the centre the royal lilies of France (modern); at the top those of the Dauphin of Viennois (one fleur-de-lys only in quarterings 1-4); on

<sup>1</sup> 'Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges. Section I. Inventaire des chartes,' 1<sup>ere</sup> série, v, p. 245. See also Appendix III, at p. 89 of this work.

one side, the great shield of Burgundy as borne after 1430; and upon the other, those of Philip III of Burgundy's third wife, Isabella of Portugal (d. 1472); between the shields is depicted the ducal device of the flint and steels.

Accepting the Burgundian arms and device as exemplifying Philip III and his Portuguese consort, the terminal dates 1430-67 were obtained, the latter the year of the duke's death. The French monarch and the Dauphin indicated were, therefore, Charles VIII (1422-61) and his son Louis (b. 1423), who reigned, as his successor (Louis XI), from 1461-83.

The special juncture within the years 1430-67 in which the arms of France, the Dauphin and of Burgundy, would be thus combined, suggested itself as occurring between 1456, when the Dauphin Louis sought asylum of the duke of Burgundy and, with Charles VII's approval, was lavishly entertained by the duke, and the period of Louis' accession in July, 1461. It was in May of that year, moreover, that John II of Aragon had been elected to the Order of the Golden Fleece. This attribution of the arms to 1456-61 was strengthened by the circumstance that from 1461 onwards until the death of Duke Philip, in 1467, the portrayal of the delphinal shield would have lacked point, there having been no Dauphin between Louis XI's accession, in 1461, and the birth of his son Charles in 1470.<sup>1</sup>

The discovery, in the heraldic ornamentation of the vase at Bruges, of a peculiarity that constitutes a link between the Rothschild Burgundian dish and the vase painted by Hugo van der Goes in the Portinari altarpiece, suggests, however, that the date 1456-61 assigned to the Rothschild example is about a decade too early. And the question resolves itself whether, in view of the fresh evidence cited below, the reading of the arms formerly proposed (HMW, p. 70) should not be revised: whether, beside the arms of the Duchess of Burgundy, Isabella of Portugal (d. 1472), and which

<sup>1</sup> The delphinal title was borne: by Charles [VII], 1415-22; by Louis [XI], 1423-61, and by Charles [VIII], 1470-83. The brief existence of Louis XI's first-born, Joachim, began and ended while his father was dauphin.







FIG. 10. DETAIL OF THE PORTINARI ALTARPIECE BY  
HUGO VAN DER GOES (1474-77)

*To face page 37*

are incapable of equivocal interpretation, the dish does not also bear those of Louis XI, King of France (from 1461), and of the Dauphin Charles (from 1470), the ducal Burgundian arms being a retrospective exemplification of Isabella's consort, Philip III.<sup>1</sup> The fresh terminal date suggested for the Rothschild dish, therefore, is limited by the existence of a dauphin, in 1470, and the death of the duchess of Burgundy, 1472; the date in question accords with that of the Medici vase (Godman collection, HMW, pl. xxvi) which is from c. 1470 onwards.

The nexus between (a) the Rothschild dish, and (b) the Bruges drug-vase, is found in a device that their designer or designers inserted in the armorial ornamentation of either example, seemingly a roundel charged with a fleur-de-lys(?). This the writer believes to be altogether peculiar to these two pieces and to form a strong argument for their contemporaneity and even community of origin. It is at once apparent that (b) the Bruges vase may claim contemporaneity and, possibly, common origin with (c) that reproduced by Van der Goes in the 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' the central panel of the altarpiece he executed for Tommaso Portinari (Uffizi Gallery, Florence), the date of which representation may be stated as *ante* 1474 (fig. 10).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That the Burgundian ducal coat stands for Charles the Bold (June, 1467-77) is precluded by the non-existence of a dauphin (whose shield is, however, figured on the dish) between the date of his accession, in 1467, and 1470, when Charles [VIII] was born. The same objection covers the non-representation of the arms of Margaret of York, his consort from July, 1468.

<sup>2</sup> The date of this work, executed in Portinari's house at Bruges, is deduced by A. Warburg in 'Flandrische Kunst und florentinische Frührenaissance' (Jahrbuch der Kgl. preussischen Kunstsammlungen, xxiii, 257). On the right shutter are depicted Tommaso Portinari, his sons Antonio and Pigello, protected by SS. Anthony and Thomas. On the left, Maria Baroncelli, the wife whom he married in 1470, and a daughter, Maria (b. 1471?). The sons were born 1472-74. As a third, Guido (b. 1476), is not represented, the composition must have been well on the road to completion by 1476, and the dates 1474-77 are suggested for its execution. Accepting the height of the painting given by Firmenich-Richartz ('Zeitschrift für christl. Kunst,' 1897, p. 374) as 2 m 50, that of the vase would be some 20.2 cm. or 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Almost a replica of the Portinari vase was recently sold in the collection of M. Joseph Monchen (Catalogue, vente à Amsterdam, 16-20 avril 1907, pl. xv, and p. 10, no. 98). Its height is 18.5 cm., 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.

At first sight more than one theory is possible as to the identity of the arms upon the vase (fig. 9), formerly at the dispensary of the Hospital of St John, and now in the Musée des Hospices Civils. The circumstantial evidence being in either case weighty, it is necessary in order to arrive at a differentiation, to recall briefly the principles by which the vase-painter rendered heraldic metals and tinctures with the colours at his command in the styles ornamented with foliage patterns, employed during the third quarter of the fifteenth century and later.

Leaving out of consideration the tinctures *vert* and *purpure*, as of rarer occurrence and not specially differentiated, a survey of the identified arms upon pieces in these groups will establish that manganese was invariably used for *gules*, blue for *azure* or *sable*. It will be found, moreover, that the lustre pigment and the ground-colour were generally used for *or* and *argent* respectively.

The application of these criteria to the armorials of the Bruges vase results in their identification as the arms of Zeeland. That county was incorporated in the Netherlandish dominions of the dukes of Burgundy in 1433. The arms of Zeeland are: Or, out of waves of the sea, barry wavy of four argent and azure, a lion issuant gules. The lion and the field upon which it is displayed are taken from the arms of Holland, and the whole achievement is emblematic of the half-submerged situation of this portion of the territory of Holland's counts, and of the struggle with the sea, of which its coasts are the perpetual theatre.<sup>1</sup>

A feature that calls for remark is the golden fleur-de-lys upon a

<sup>1</sup>The motto is *Luſtor et emergo*. While the subdivision of the field in the Zeeland arms is usually depicted *per fesse*, there is considerable latitude in the verbal blazon given by various authorities. In 'Les seaux des comtes de Flandre' (Bruges, 1641, p. 114), O. de Wree, or Vredius, gives: "Ondé en fasce d'argent & d'azur, de 4 pieces; au chef d'or, chargé d'un lion naissant, de gueulles, qui est de Hollande." L. P. C. van den Bergh, in 'Grondtrekken der Nederlandsche Ziegel- en Wapenkunde' (3 ed., p. 91, 1881), gives a modern vernacular blazon, "Van goud met een uitkomenden leeuw van keel, verrijzende uit drie golvende faassen van lazuur." But there can be little doubt that the waves were represented in conformity to the mediæval iconographical convention in representing water, by wavy white and blue lines. In the Zeeland arms the representation of these as four in number is singularly uniform.

roundel or reserved space in chief, which is seen also in the quartering of the dolphin of Dauphiny, in the delphinal achievement on the Rothschild dish (fig. 11). There, as here, it is half-hidden by the head of the principal charge. Though its significance is not precisely clear, and though such an enrichment at no time formed part of the arms of Zeeland or of the Dauphin of France, the coincidence of its occurrence in these cases, confirms the view as to the territorial, rather than the personal, nature of the charges it accompanies.<sup>1</sup>

Another, but less convincing identification of these arms is furnished by the circumstance that there flourished at Bruges in the sixteenth century and subsequently, a family named Dagua, of Spanish origin, whose arms were a variant of those of Zeeland. The Dagua bore: Argent, three bars wavy azure in base and a lion issuant sable, armed and langued gules;<sup>2</sup> an achievement which differs materially in its tinctures from that of Zeeland.



FIG. 11

The earliest published record of the Dagua that the writer is able to cite, dates from the year 1517, when Catherine Dagua was granted permission to renounce citizenship in view of her marriage with L. De Groote, an *échevin* of the liberty of Bruges; her father, Antoine Dagua, is described as a Spaniard, whom acquisition of citizenship had procured the echevinal office.<sup>3</sup> It may therefore be assumed that, at the date in question, Antoine Dagua would be

<sup>1</sup> That it has a similar *raison d'être* to the fleur-de-lys borne, at a later date, by the De Knuyts, of Bruges, in token of the knighthood conferred by Louis XIII on Jean De Knuyt, seems altogether unlikely. The De Knuyts quartered the arms of Vosmeer (a fox emerging from waves) in right of J. de Knuyt's wife, lady of  $\frac{1}{2}$  Vosmeer. (F. van Dyck, 'Recueil héraldique,' p. 229, etc. 1851.)

<sup>2</sup> Rietstap, 'Armorial General.' 2 ed. Dagua, dit van Queckelborne. Brabant. The writer has been unable to trace any record of the family upon the Spanish side. The name is also spelt *d'Agua*.

<sup>3</sup> Gilliodts van Severen, 'Cartulaire de l'ancien consulat d'Espagne à Bruges,' p. 458.

aged about forty years at least, and that he was born *c.* 1475. Whilst no pedigree of the Dagua has yet been attempted, nor indeed any summary of their history, the names of individuals of the family, at times with the alias 'van Quickelborne,' are frequently encountered in the civic annals of Bruges, and a few representations of their arms may still be found upon sepulchral monuments in that city, but neither the State nor civic archives contain a Dagua seal, and it is impossible to cite a token of theirs extant in the series issued by the families of Bruges during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

Together with other families of Spanish origin, the Dagua had right of sepulchre in the church of St. Walburga, where the monumental inscription of Matthias Dagua, who was burgomaster of Bruges in 1600, 1603 and 1604, may be seen, but the arms are missing.<sup>1</sup> By a second marriage, Matthias Dagua had a daughter, Anne (d. 1639), wife of Jacques van Volden (d. 1628), a member of the grand council of Mechlin; their monument in the cathedral of St Rumbold shows Dagua shields with both three and five bars wavy in base, and the lion is rampant in the top of the shield.<sup>2</sup> By the marriage of Jeanne Dagua in 1625, with Antoine van Volden, a councillor of Bruges (1629, 1636), the latter's family quartered the Dagua arms with their own and those of Anche-ment: J.-B. C. van Volden (d. 1736), *échevin* and burgomaster of Mechlin, three generations later, bore the Dagua quartering, Argent four bars wavy azure a lion issuant sable.<sup>3</sup>

Comparison of the arms of Zeeland and Dagua with those painted upon the vase may be made thus:

ZEELAND	THE VASE	DAGUA
Or, barry wavy of four <i>argent</i> and <i>azure</i> , a lion issuant <i>gules</i> .	Or, barry wavy of four <i>argent</i> and <i>azure</i> in base, a lion issuant <i>gules</i> .	<i>Argent</i> three bars wavy <i>azure</i> in base, a lion issuant <i>sable</i> .

<sup>1</sup> He died 1609. See J. Gailliard's 'Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre occidentale,' I, 3e partie, pp. 12, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Van den Eynde, 'Choix d'inscriptions funéraires de la ville de Malines' (pl. XII). 1856.

<sup>3</sup> Butkens, 'Supplément aux Trophées tant sacrés que profanes du duché de Brabant,' II, p. 356 (plate).

It is regrettable that the balance of variations in detail between the armorials of the vase and the Dagua blazon militates against an identification of the one with the other. The evidence the writer has been able to adduce as to the Dagua arms is, he admits, fragmentary, but he believes it to be the best obtainable. The strongest point against the Dagua attribution presented by the data cited is the uniformity with which their lion is emblazoned *sable* upon a field *argent*, in direct opposition to the Zeeland lion, *gules* upon *or*, which is found upon the vase. The only point of moment adverse to the Zeeland identification is the position *in base* of the waves in the vase armorials which agree, so far, with the Dagua blazon, whereas those in the Zeeland arms reach to the centre of the shield. Even then the bars wavy upon the vase coincide in number with those of Zeeland's blazon, and not with those of the Dagua, in any case cited, either verbal or pictorial.<sup>1</sup>

Upon one theory only is the thesis tenable that a Dagua exemplification was intended, i.e., that the arms upon the vase were incorrectly tinctured; for this assumption Hispano-Moresque pottery with armorials in four colours offers no precedent. In view of the Teutonic genius of the shield with a lion swimming,<sup>2</sup> it is in the highest degree improbable that the same was borne by 'Antoine' Dagua (who is described as of Spanish nationality) or by his family before arrival in the Low Countries. It is, then, almost a corollary that the coat thus adopted, as a canting achievement, was a version of the shield of Zeeland, differenced as regards tinctures—the territorial coat being the property of the house of Burgundy or its imperial successors.

<sup>1</sup> The height to which the waves were carried in actual delineation would be particularly liable to variation, yet, unless the pourfilar line of the top wave bisected the shield horizontally, *per fesse*, or unless the waves were frankly *in base*, such peculiarity would not be specified in verbal blazon. It is, for example, impossible to convey in terms the relationship of the field to the bars wavy, in a Dagua escutcheon among the quarterings of Pierre Sucx (d. 1698) in the church of St Walburga. J. Gailliard, *op. cit.*, I, 3e partie, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Its other representative occurrence is, as the arms of Röteln (Rothelin), in the shield of the margraves of Baden. In this instance the subdivision of the field is effected *per fesse*, with, in base, two bars *argent* upon *azure*. The lion and its field are *gules* and *or*.

**A**S fifteenth century Valencian pottery bearing the name as well as the arms of the family for whom it was made, rarely occurs, no apology is needed for presenting a specimen illustrative of so unusual a method of decoration.

The fragment of a bowl here reproduced was discovered at Turin in excavating the remains of the *Castrum Portæ Phibellonæ*, formerly occupying the site of the Palazzo Madama. The older building was erected by William II, marquis of Montferrat, in the thirteenth century, and enlarged, in 1416, by Louis of Savoy, count of Piedmont, prince of Achaia (d. 1418). The bowl was dug out of an underground chamber choked with rubbish,<sup>1</sup> into which it had been thrown with a quantity of other broken pottery and glass. It is decorated with the larger blue and golden vine-leaves, a representative example of which is seen in the dish with René of Anjou's arms in the Godman collection.<sup>2</sup>

In the centre of the dish is a shield charged with a bear, and round its broad, flat brim is repeated, in Gothic minuscules *orlye* (fig. 13), the name of an old Savoyard house seated at Ameysin in the canton of Yenne (Petit Bugey), from the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The arms *Or a bear sable* were borne by an Orlyé in a tournament held by Amadeus VI of Savoy, 'il Conte Verde' (1343-83), and they are blazoned in the armorial (c. 1450) of Charles VII of France's herald Berry, Gilles le Bouvier.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Un ambiente destinato allo scarico delle latrine." 'Relazione dell'Ufficio regionale per la conservazione dei monumenti del Piemonte e della Liguria,' by A. d'Andrade, 1, 1883-91, p. 17, contains a reproduction (from which fig. 12 is taken), but no description of this interesting find.

<sup>2</sup> HMW, pl. xi.

<sup>3</sup> F. Letanché, 'Les vieux châteaux, maison fortes et ruines féodales du canton d'Yenne,' *Memoires et documents de la Société savoisiennne*, XLV, 80. 1907. For a pedigree of the Ameysin and the marriage of Amédée d'Orlyé with Colette d'Ameysin (living 1383), see Count E. A. de Foras, 'Armorial et nobiliaire de l'ancien duché de Savoie,' 1, 46. 1863.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. M. Valet de Viriville, p. 142. 1866. S. Guichenon, 'Histoire de Bresse et de Bugey,' 1650, gives the arms "Orli-St Innocent, d'or à un ours de sable," but no pedigree of the family.





FIG. 12. FRAGMENT OF BOWL WITH  
ARMS OF ORLYÉ. MANISES  
*circa 1470-75*



FIG. 13. THE NAME ORLYÉ:  
DETAIL FROM THE BOWL

*To face page 42*



The Orlyé were hereditarily connected with the house of Savoy, and it is probable that to the offices held by certain of them at the ducal court, and, to their acquaintance with the foreign art productions obtainable in the duchy, through Marseilles and Genoa, that the existence of the Valencian dish bearing their name and armorials must be attributed. Among notable members of the family may be cited the original architect (1371-77) of Ripaille, the famous ducal residence on the shore of the Lake of Geneva, Jean d'Orlyé,<sup>1</sup> who was tutor to Amadeus VII, 'il Conte Verde,' in his minority.

Under Amadeus VII's grandson, Louis, duke of Savoy (1450-65), whose arms figure upon an Hispano-Moresque dish in Mr H. D. Godman's collection (HMW, pl. XII), is found "Anthoine d'Orlié, escuyer d'escuyrie" to the heir apparent, Amadeus, prince of Piedmont.<sup>2</sup> To this Antoine d'Orlyé, subsequently governor of Nizza (Nice), who led four thousand Savoyards to the aid of Charles the Bold and was slain at the battle of Morat, in 1476,<sup>3</sup> the original ownership of the fragment unearthed at Turin may with verisimilitude be assigned.

<sup>1</sup> M. Bruchet, 'Le château de Ripaille,' pp. 25, 290, etc. 1908.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dépenses de la maison du prince Amé de Savoie, fils du duc Louis, de 1462 à 1465,' edited by G. Pérouse. Mémoires de la Société savoissienne, XLII, cxxvi, clviii. 1903.

<sup>3</sup> F. Letanché, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

FIGURE 14

Victoria and Albert Museum (Salting Bequest).

Diameter:  $18\frac{1}{8}$  in.; 46 cm.

ORNAMENT: Circles of vine-leaves, alternately in gold and pale blue, circular runners in blue. Lustre, violet to ruby. Back: a spiral in lustre, covering the entire surface.

ARMS: Four pallets (in gold) flanked in saltire by two eagles displayed (Sicily trans-Pharum), impaling four pallets (in ground colour upon gold: Aragon).

**W**E have here a version of the combined shield of Aragon and insular Sicily which, during the fifteenth century, typified the union of both kingdoms under one head, subsequent to the death of Martin the younger, in 1409.

From 1468, until the death of his father, John II of Aragon, in 1479, Ferdinand (the Catholic) bore the title King of Sicily. In 1475, the year after the succession of his consort, Isabella, to the crown of Castile, it was agreed that, in their combined achievement, the Castilian arms should precede<sup>1</sup> those of Aragon-Sicily, which latter were borne impaled. Whether the precedence given the Sicilian insignia, in this instance, should be interpreted as evidence of manufacture during the prince of Aragon's enjoyment of the crown of Sicily, during his father's lifetime,<sup>2</sup> i.e., 1468-79; or, as merely a reversion of the order in which both coats were again borne, combined, by him after 1479, as king of Aragon and Sicily, it is difficult to say.

A contemporary illustration of Ferdinand's paternal arms, subsequent to 1479, is afforded by the reverse of a silver *real* struck

<sup>1</sup> The dimidiated shield quarterly of Castile-Leon, impaling Sicily, is found upon a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum (HMW., pl. xxix). It dates, apparently, from the period between 1475, the year of the Segovia compact which gave precedence to the Castilian, over the Aragonese, insignia, in the monarchs' combined arms, and 1479, when, by his father's death, Ferdinand succeeded to the full arms of the house of Aragon. This specimen was inadvertently dated 1468-1479.

<sup>2</sup> For a dish with the arms of Sicily only, see HMW, pl. xxvii.

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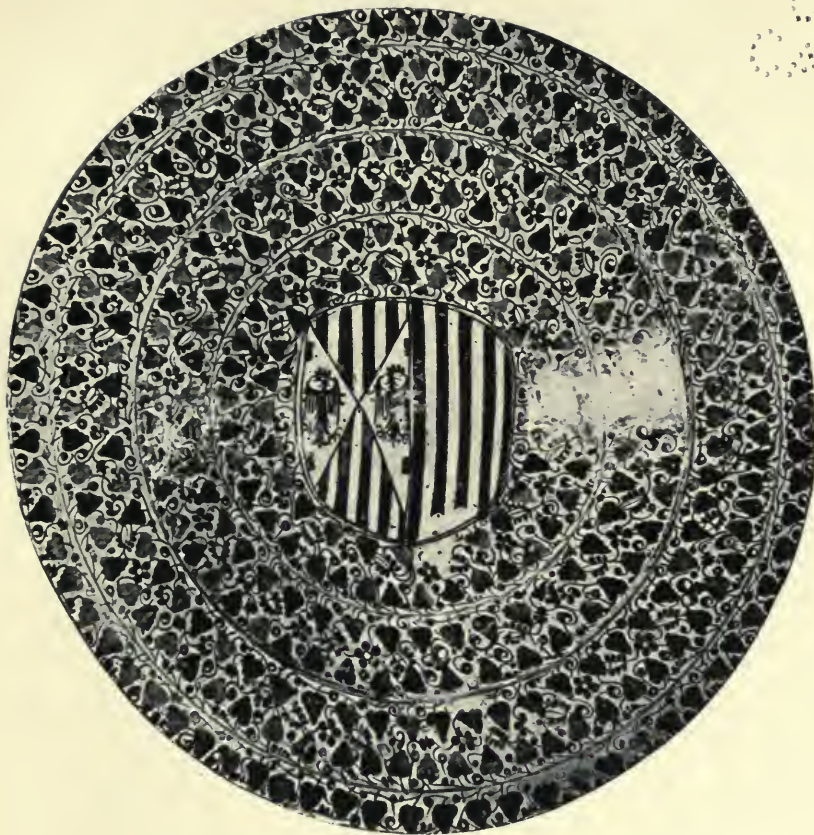


FIG. 14. DISH WITH ARMS OF FERDINAND II (THE CATHOLIC), POSSIBLY AS KING OF SICILY. VALENCIA (MANISES), 1468-79.



FIG. 15. SILVER REAL WITH ARMS OF ISABELLA AND FERDINAND II

To face page 44



at Burgos, which bears upon one side the Castilian insignia of his consort Isabella, supported by the eagle of St John, and upon its reverse the coats that exemplify Ferdinand as king of Aragon and Sicily (fig. 15).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heiss, pl. xvii, no. 16. The Castilian arms are accompanied by the legend, "Ferdinandus et Elizabet"; the Aragonese by "Dominus Michi Atiutor."

FIGURE 16

Collection of Otto Beit, Esq.

Diameter:  $16\frac{2}{3}$  in., 41c.6.

ORNAMENT: Arabesques in gold pigment; the lustre of coppery hue. Back: Concentric circles, of alternately thick and thin lines.<sup>1</sup>

ARMS: Or, an eagle displayed azure, impaling azure a bend or.

**T**HE style of which the double-rimmed dish, here reproduced, affords an example, exhibits closer affinity to typical Mohammedan ornament than any other, attributable to Valencian fabriques of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Its main element is, obviously, a descendant of the so-called arabesque of Persian or Andalusian art, which, though lacking the unity and cohesiveness of the original, is even better adapted to ceramic ornamentation on account of its freedom and elasticity: qualities, the orthodox arabesque as employed in the vases of the Alhambra group, may hardly be said to possess. As a pattern, its only defect lies in an illusion of fatigue due, in the first place, to a close volute-like formation of the leaf, and to thinness of stalk, heightened, in most examples of its employment, by want of care in the execution of detail.

Unfortunately, the extant specimens of this variety contain few that yield very definite material for its differentiation, chronologically, from other late fifteenth century styles. The employment of sgraffiato<sup>3</sup> in leaf articulations; the minor ornament, here only sparingly introduced; and the shape of the dish, are, on the other hand, indications that the style was employed, at least for awhile, contemporarily to the vine-leaf varieties. That it outlived their degeneration into the 'dot-and-stalk' diaper seems probable.

The dish has, in its centre, the arms: Or an eagle displayed

<sup>1</sup> Catalogued by Dr Valentiner, in 'Sammlungen des Herren Alfred Beit in London: Hispano-Maurische Fayencen,' 1906, no. 24, p. 45. Reproduced by permission of its present owner.

<sup>2</sup> For illustrations of its employment as a pattern on fifteenth century Valencian tiles, see J. Font y Gumá, 'Rajolas Valencianas,' pp. 31 and 93 (fig. 101).

<sup>3</sup> A modification of the process consisting in the incision of a line in the pigment, disclosing the enamelled ground beneath.





FIG. 16. DISH WITH ARMS OF ISABEL DE CARVAJAL (d. 1523), WIFE OF  
SANCHO DEL AGUILA (d. 1503). LATE XV CENTURY

*To face page 46*



azure, impaling azure a bend or. It is plain that, with two colours only employed, no confidence can be reposed in the existence of a method by which consistent renderings or 'translations' of heraldic metal and tincture was obtained. Seeking attributions empirically, therefore, rather than by the usual process, the possibility of identifying the impaled coat as that of Sandoval (or a bend sable) suggests itself. This house, originally of Castile, entered into Aragonese history in the early fifteenth century in the days of Ferdinand I. Later, it ranked high among the Valencian territorial nobility by reason of its possession of the marquisate of Denia, granted to Diego Gomez de Sandoval y Roxas, count of Castrogeriz, by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1484. But the enquirer will search contemporary generations of the Sandoval in vain for an alliance between that house and one that had an eagle for arms.

In the case of another important Castilian family, the Carvajal, that bore, likewise, Or a bend sable, the armorial conjunction in question occurred once, if not twice, during the late fifteenth century. The Infante Ferdinand, born 1503, son of Philip the Handsome and Johanna of Aragon, and younger brother of Charles V, had for governess, Doña Isabel de Carvajal, widow of Sancho del Aguila, member of a well known house of Avila, and at one time designated as viceroy of New Spain.<sup>1</sup> Their son, Suero del Aguila, held the office of equerry to the same prince, until Charles's accession and the suppression of his post. Isabel de Carvajal died in 1523.<sup>2</sup>

Another individual to whom the shield might be held to apply

<sup>1</sup> "El infante D. Fernando había nacido en Alcalá de Henares el año 1503; de allí le llevó su abuela la reina D<sup>a</sup> Isabel á Segovia, y despues a Arevalo, para que en este villa se criase. Dióle por aya á D<sup>a</sup> Isabel de Carvajal, mujer que había sido de Sancho del Aguila . . ." A. Rodriguez Villa's 'El Emperador Carlos V y su Corte,' Boletín de la R. Academia de la Historia, XLII, p. 473, Madrid. 1903. For a curious account of the family, see L. Ariz, 'Historia de las grandezas de la ciudad de Avila,' Quarta parte, Sig. A4, etc. 1607.

<sup>2</sup> In Martin de Salinas' correspondence she is mentioned as living, under date May 4, 1523. On December 16 following he says, with reference to the wrecked fortunes of Isabella's son Suero, that "su madre murió de congoxa de ver el mal despacho de su hijo." Boletín, XLIII, pp. 101, 138. See also a letter of Ferdinand the Catholic to Doña Isabel, of 1504, in Revista de Archivos, 3 series, v, 164. 1901.

is Juan de Sande y Carvajal, a son of Francisco de Carvajal y Trejo, second lord of Torrejón (Estremadura) and of Aldonza de Sande, a sister of Juan de Sande, second lord of Valhondo. Juan de Sande y Carvajal's elder brothers were Garci López de Carvajal, third lord of Torrejón, a councillor to Ferdinand and Isabella, also their ambassador to Portugal, and the great cardinal, Bernardino de Carvajal, bishop of Astorga (d. 1522). Don Ignacio de Janer, of Barcelona, to whom the author is indebted for the indication of Juan de Sande y Carvajal, points out that the precedence given to the maternal name<sup>1</sup> would indicate this person to have been, according to contemporary usage, the heir of his mother, Aldonza de Sande. The precedence would similarly be extended to her arms (Argent an eagle displayed ppr.) over those of Carvajal, in the combination of the two armorials borne by him. It must, however, be remarked that, if the dexter half of the achievement be that of the Sande family, then a crown *or* upon the head of the eagle has been omitted.<sup>2</sup>

A companion vessel to the dish with Isabel de Carvajal's arms is possibly to be found in a bowl, in Mr Godman's collection,<sup>1</sup> decorated in the same style but with four blue superimposed rosettes. In the centre are the arms, an eagle displayed; in this case looking to the left, probably for the family del Aguila.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned by Lopez de Haro, 'Nobiliario genealogico de los reyes y titulos de España,' Segunda parte, p. 196; by Salazar y Castro, 'Historia de la casa de Lara,' III, 464; and by Zurita, 'Historia de D. Fernando el Catolico,' lib. VI, cap. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez de Haro, 'Nobiliario,' segunda parte, p. 491, gives the Sande arms, 'Un aguila volante de su color, coronado de oro en campo de plata.'

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue, p. 36 and pl. xxx, no. 453.





FIGURE 17

Victoria and Albert Museum (458-1907).

Breadth across handles,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  in., 20 c. 2; diameter of bowl,  $5\frac{9}{16}$  in., 14 c.; depth,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in., 6 c.

ORNAMENT: Round the sides of the bowl runs a border of classical derivation; the ground is covered with the diapering derived from the vine-leaf ornament; on the back are sprays of foliage, and in the centre a mark or rough signature in lustre pigment.

ARMS: A wing or demy-vol, tip in base, in lustre.

**T**HIS specimen is considerably larger than any other of the same shape, and it is of earlier date than the majority of such vessels, known to the writer. The peculiarity of its shape identifies it as a *scudella ab orelles* (see p. 16).

The technical perfection evinced in the potting, and the exquisite surface presented by an enamel with the texture of old polished ivory, indicates this example as probably produced by the same hand as the Gondi and Spannocchi bowls<sup>1</sup> in the Salting collection and British Museum respectively, which are likewise remarkable from this standpoint.

The arms, a wing or demy-vol, were borne by the Sans, a famous Catalan noble house, whose name occurs repeatedly in Aragon's military annals. A prominent member of the family was Arnao or Arnaldo Sans, one of Alfonso V's captains in the conquest of Naples. The armorial miniatures in the register of the Confraternity of St Martha, in the Neapolitan Archives, include a representation of his arms: argent a wing gules, with the date 1439.<sup>2</sup> Not much later, the Sans added to their shield a chief of Aragon,<sup>3</sup> for Fran-

<sup>1</sup> HMW, pls. xxvii and xxxi. In describing the Gondi bowl the author should have noted the existence in the Godman collection (Catalogue, pl. XLII, nos. 246, 248) of two covered vases, similiary ornamented, with the Gondi arms.

<sup>2</sup> The accompanying inscription runs: DÑS ARNAO SANÇ CASTELLANO DEL CASTEL NOVO. Another, in cursive hand beneath the miniature, is: Dñs Arnaldus Sans Castri novi Castellanus intravit domum S. Marthæ anno mccccxxxix.

<sup>3</sup> The date is unknown to the writer. A similar augmentation, of the arms of Aragon and Sicily, was granted by John II of Aragon to Juan Aymerich, in 1476, upon creating him Baron of Rubinat. A copy of the grant, quoted by Madramany, 'Tratado,' p. 114, was exhibited at the Madrid Exhibition, 1892; Catalogue, Sala x (2a serie), 748.

cisco Sans, eleventh master of the Valencian order of Montesa in 1492, a member of the same family, bore the arms thus augmented.<sup>1</sup> At the date of execution of the bowl, armorial exemplifications of the Sans of this line should therefore include a chief of Aragon. A different attribution is moreover necessitated by the circumstance that another, contemporary, Valencian family bore a wing for arms.

The chronicler Viciano assigns: argent a wing azure, to a family of the city of Valencia, named Alegre, three generations of which he gives as descendants of a certain Galvany Alegre, "governor of the city and principality of Andria for the duke of Valentinois" (*el duque Valentino*).<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 19

It is obvious that we have here a family that, by the mid-fifteenth century, claimed descent from Yves d'Allegre, a captain whom Charles VIII left in the service of Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, upon his return from the invasion of Italy in 1499.<sup>3</sup> Allegre, who was a famous warrior in his day, who assisted the son of Alex-

ander VI in taking Caterina Sforza prisoner at Forlì in 1500, and in his conquest of the Romagna, was slain at the battle of Ravenna, with his son Jacques, in 1512. He bore for arms: Gules a tower argent between six fleur-de-lys, 3 and 3, in pale, or.

That the Valencian Alegre were justified in their claims to descend from Allegre of Auvergne is also negated by the discrepancy in the arms of the two houses, but this is a phase of the subject which it is unnecessary to discuss here.

<sup>1</sup> He bore, 1-4, the Order crosses of Montesa and St George; 2-3, "las quatro barras de Aragon en cãpo de oro, por haver emparentado los de esta familia con la Casa Real; y debaxo de las barras un ala de color rojo en cãpo de plata. Insignia propia de la familia de Sanz," etc. Samper, 'Montesa ilustrada,' II, 527.

<sup>2</sup> Viciano, 'Segunda parte de la chronica de Valencia' (ed. Soc. Valenciana de Bibliofilos), pp. 57-58.

<sup>3</sup> A few of the biographical facts of Allegre's Italian career can be gleaned from Yriarte, 'Les Borgia. Cæsar Borgia.' 1889.





FIG. 18. BACK OF THE SCUDELLA

*To face page 50*







FIG. 20. CYLINDRICAL BOTTLE WITH ARMS OF THE FIRST OR SECOND DUKE OF SEGORBE. VALENCIA (MANISES OR PATERNA), FIRST HALF OF XVI CENTURY

*To face page 51*





Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Extreme height,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in., 22 c. 3; height of barrel,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in., 16 c. 5; length,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in., 29 c. 2.

The whole of the ornament is in deep copper lustre upon cream colour.

**T**HE ceramic form here represented resembles a variety of the *askos*<sup>1</sup> of pre-Hellenic times, fashioned cylindrically and roughly modelled to the shape of an animal's body, possibly that of an ox. Excavations in Melos (Phylakopi) and Cyprus, and at Delphi, have yielded examples of the type in question that differ mainly in the shape of the head-like spout and the position of the handle, which are the principal excrescences from the trunk of the vessel. But the supporting members by means of which the antique vessel retains its equilibrium, and to which is due not a little of its realistic effect are, in all cases, in the form of leg stumps, more or less conventionalized. Another bottle,<sup>2</sup> of Valencian origin, at the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 21), is of much importance as a link between the shape of fig. 20 and the supposed prototype of ancient times. The body of this vessel has two apertures, a neck for filling it with liquid and a spout, fashioned like the head of a monster, for pouring out; they are connected by a handle. Its ornamentation consists of bands of inscription (the words: *SURGE DOMINE*)<sup>3</sup> alternating with the net pattern of the early sixteenth century gadrooned style, with which latter motives, also, its spherical end is decorated. The front bears, upon a ground of the stiff, perfunctorily executed flower and foliage of the same epoch, an escucheon bearing a barrulet debriused by a lion rampant.<sup>4</sup> Something of the decorative arrangement and

<sup>1</sup> The shape is so called "from its general likeness to a wine-skin." Walters, "History of Ancient Pottery," I, 199-200.

<sup>2</sup> 431-1889. Length  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in., 29 c. 9; height  $9\frac{3}{4}$  in., 24 c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> One version of a longer inscription runs: *EXSURGE DOMINE AD LIBERANDUM NOS*, see the catalogue of the Godman collection, pl. xxxvii, 273; a contemporary specimen.

<sup>4</sup> It is an open question whether, Valencian ceramic armorials having now lost the system of counterchanging, the shield is not subdivided per fesse.

style seen in either bottle is combined in a large dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum (302-1893; fig. 22).

Three other specimens of this variety of the askos shape, in Persian, Spanish and Italian pottery respectively, will occur to the student. The first is in thirteenth century Persian lustre (Godman collection, pl. iv). Another is the remarkable aquamanile in the form of a sheep (?) in the Piet Lataudrie collection (1550-1700). It is in the *cuerta seca* technique, and is attributed to Puente del Arzobispo.<sup>1</sup> The last is the horse-headed horizontal boccale in the majolica collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a peculiar feature of which is the sprawling nude figure that serves as a handle.<sup>2</sup> Experts date this piece *c.* 1490, it is therefore somewhat earlier than any Spanish example<sup>3</sup> known to the writer.

It would be easy to theorize upon the occurrence of such a shape as this in the ceramic art of the Moors. The very denomination 'Cypro-Phœnician,' assigned by an archæologist<sup>4</sup> to the group of askoi of which it is doubtless a descendant, is fertile of suggestion of the line of transmission by which the form may have originally reached the Western Mediterranean. For, whether merely imitated from antique<sup>5</sup> ceramic remains unearthed from time to time during the best period of Mussulman activity in this sphere, absorbed with whatever survivals of ancient forms were lingering among the Visigoths,<sup>6</sup> or merely introduced by the Moors, it is

<sup>1</sup> G. Migeon, 'Exposition des Arts Musulmans,' pl. LXI; and 'Manuel des Arts Musulmans,' II, 337, fig. 292.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in H. Wallis, 'Italian ceramic art: Figure design and other forms of ornamentation in XVth century Italian maiolica,' p. xxviii and fig. 56.

<sup>3</sup> The Warwick castle Hispano-Moresque collection contains a fish-shaped askos, in the style illustrated in fig. 31. See 'Connoisseur,' XIV, 139. 1906.

<sup>4</sup> M. Mayer, 'Askoi,' 'Jahrbuch der Kais. deutschen archäologischen Instituts,' Berlin, XXII, 207. 1907.

<sup>5</sup> Tudot's 'Collection de figurines en argile,' pl. 65, illustrates a Gallo-Roman clay vase-statuettes in the shape of a bull, with a spout or orifice rising from its back, found at Chantenay (Nièvre). Cf. Dechelette, 'Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine,' II, p. 323, pl. x. 1904.

<sup>6</sup> A rough, earthen vessel of askos shape, its head that of a horse, in the Museo Nazionale, Rome, is attributed to the Goths. D. Angeli, 'Roma,' II, 59 ("Suppelletilli dei Goti"). 1908.





FIG. 22. DISH. VALENCIA, EARLY XVI CENTURY

*To face page 52*



tolerably certain that the shape was affected, more frequently in Spain than elsewhere.

In the present state of knowledge, the continuity of ceramic production between antiquity and the epoch of Moordom, in Spain, can only be surmised. Yet it is admitted that one locality upon the Mediterranean littoral of the peninsula was productive in the sixteenth century, not less than in the time of the Romans. If the pottery of Murviedro<sup>1</sup> and Saguntum<sup>2</sup> were widely different in character, however, such a recurrence of activity in the art is nevertheless indicative of what occurred at other sites where the material for the manufacture of earthenware was at hand. Both the etymologies of the name Paterna given by Escolano (1610) are derived with an eye to that place's connexion *ab immemorabili* with potting, "*en razon de la obra de barro que siempre se han labrado en Paterna con mucho curiosidad,*" and one can but suppose that the traditional antiquity of that and lesser localities was in part affirmed upon discoveries of the pottery of previous ages, in the course of agricultural or other operations in their vicinity. What Professor P. Paris reports of sites near the Valencian frontier of Murcia: the Cerro de l'Amarejo, between Chinchilla and Almanza, and Meca, to the north of the latter, are present-day instances of (a) the accessibility of ceramic remains of a remote antiquity (covering the period from the Mycenaean to the classical age) to workers of the soil; and (b) of the occurrence, at a site littered with sherds similar in date, of Moorish lustred and other fragments.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lucio Marineo Siculo 'De las cosas memorables de Espana,' 1539, fol. v, verso 'Y en Morviedro y en Toledo se haze y labra mucho, y muy recio, blanco y alguno verde, y mucho *amarillo que parece dorado*; y esto es para servicio; porque lo mas preciado es lo que esta vedriado de blanco.'

<sup>2</sup> Count Lumières de Valcarcel, in his 'Barros Saguntinos,' divides the Roman pottery known to him into "quatro especies, es á saber: rojos, cenicientos, *amarillos con ciertas betas rojas, que parecen de jaspe*, y otros sin barniz blanquiscos del color del barro." 1779.

<sup>3</sup> "L'abondance vraiment extraordinaire des poteries, cassées ou pour mieux dire émietées à la surface, parmi l'herbe courte et les buissons, dans les interstices des murs de soutènement, désigne ce lieu comme une importante station archéologique; et d'autre part la diversité de ces débris qui, dès le premier regard, se manifestent comme ap-

We turn, finally, to the arms upon the bottle (fig. 20). As depicted, they may be blazoned, either *Quarterly per pale: 1, 3, Aragon dimidiated; 2, Castile and Leon per fesse; 4, Sicily*; or, the halves of the shield could be considered as an impalement, but this, as will be seen, would be a totally incorrect method of reading the arms, and disastrous, moreover, to their identification. The shield should read *Tierced in pale: 1, Aragon; 2, Castile and Leon per fesse; 3, Sicily*; but the designer has dimidiated or halved the Aragonese pales, inserting two between the quarterings of Castile and Sicily.



*Duque de Villena su apellido  
Aragon.*

FIG. 23

Here we have the arms of the lords of Paterna of the house of Aragon-Segorbe, descended from a younger brother of Alfonso V (1419-58) and John II (1458-79), kings of Aragon: Henry, duke of Villena, count of Albuquerque and of Ampurias, lord of Segorbe, of the valleys of Uxó, Sierra de Eslida, *Paterna*, la Puebla and Benalguazil, with other lord-

ships in Valencia, and Master of the Order of Santiago. The duke of Villena is best remembered, with his brothers the other sons of *partenant aux fabriques, aux styles les plus variés tant sont différentes la pâte, l'épaisseur, la couleur et la décoration de l'argile, prouve que là se trouvent réunis des résidus de nombreux ateliers contemporains ou successifs.*" At Meca: "Comme du temps de Cean-Bermudez [i.e. 1832], le sol est jonché de milliers et de milliers de tessons de toute forme, de toute grandeur et de toute époque. Toutes les séries dont j'ai

Ferdinand I of Aragon, as one of the turbulent "Infantes de Aragón" of early fifteenth century annals, and for his lifelong enmity to the great constable of Castile, Alvaro de Luna, the favourite of John II of Castile, whose younger sister Catharine, Henry of Aragon married in 1420, receiving with her hand Villena and a ducal title in Castile.

Like the arms of his elder brother John, duke of Peñafiel, of Gandía, and king of Navarre, those of the duke of Villena and of the house of Segorbe, his descendants, indicate plainly his relationship to the crowns of Aragon, Castile and Sicily.<sup>1</sup> The tierced coat of those kingdoms, attributed to the duke of Villena by López de Haro<sup>2</sup> (fig. 23), finds apt comment in the following lines of a romance which Pedro de Escavias places in the duke's mouth:

Yo me so el Infante Ennrique  
d'Aragon y de Sseçilia  
fijo del Rey don Fernando  
nieto del Rey de Castilla  
Maestre de Santiago  
de la gran Caualleria  
el gran Conde de Albuquerque  
Señor de Huete y Gandia

recueilli des exemplaires à l'Amarejo se retrouvent à Meca, avec plus d'abondance encore. Mais tandis qu'à l'Amarejo les plus récents spécimens sont de l'époque romaine, à Meca, comme le nom même permettait de l'attendre, il y a beaucoup de céramique arabe, même des débris de plats de faïence à reflets métalliques, de ceux qu'on est convenu d'appeler hispano-moresques."—'Essai sur l'Art et l'Industrie de l'Espagne primitive,' II, 5, 6, 12; also p. 114. 1904.

<sup>1</sup> The father of Alfonso V, of John II of Aragon and of Henry of Villena, Ferdinand, *el de Antequera*, brother of Henry III of Castile, was elected to the thrones of Aragon and of Sicily (trans-Pharum) in 1412, to the exclusion of such princes of the house of Barcelona as James II, count of Urgel (d. 1433) and Alfonso II, duke of Gandía (d. 1422).

<sup>2</sup> 'Nobiliario genealogico,' II, 282. Also Fernandez de Béthencourt, 'Historia genealógica y heraldica de la monarquia española,' III, 391. These authorities say nothing of an earlier blason of Henry of Aragon's in which the Sicilian quartering was absent. See the seal, of the year 1437, described in Romero de Castilla's 'Inventario de los objetos recogidos en el Museo arqueológico . . . de Badajoz,' p. 182. 1896.

señor de muchos vasallos  
en Aragon y Castilla  
el mayor Duque ni Conde  
quen España se sabia . . .<sup>1</sup>

The Infante Henry, of Villena, died in 1445, leaving, by his second wife, Beatrice de Pimentel, a posthumous son, the Infante Henry, of Aragon-Sicily (d. 1522), who inherited his father's possessions under the crown of Aragon, including Ampurias, Segorbe erected into a duchy by John II of Aragon, his uncle, and the various Valencian seignories. The duke of Segorbe's wife, Guiomar, a granddaughter of the second duke of Braganza, bore him a successor, Alfonso, to whom he resigned the ducal title in 1516, upon the latter contracting a marriage with the heiress of the house of Folch de Cardona. A third duke of Segorbe, Francisco de Aragón Folch de Cardona, born in 1539, died in 1575. At his death, this, the last legitimate branch of the third Aragonese royal house became extinct, having witnessed the union of the crown from which it had sprung with that of Castile, and the eventual absorption of the Spains into the dominion of the house of Austria.

Though the arms upon the bottle present no distinctive sign permitting their attribution exclusively to any one of the dukes of Segorbe, they undoubtedly exemplify either the first of the line, Henry (d. 1522), or the second, Alfonso (d. 1562).

Alfonso, the second duke, elected to the order of the Golden Fleece in 1556,<sup>2</sup> added the Cardona blazon to his own achievement as duke-consort of Cardona; it being, moreover, stipulated by the marriage contract (1516) that the eldest son of the union should bear the name and arms of Cardona only.<sup>3</sup> But it would appear that the triple combination of Aragon, Castile and Sicily still continued

<sup>1</sup> 'Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,' 3rd series, iv, 528.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Maurice, 'Le blason des armoiries de tous les chevaliers de la Toison d'Or,' p. 245. He is there assigned Quarterly per pale: 1, Aragon; 2, Castile and Leon per fesse; 3, Sicily; 4, Cardona (gules three thistles, for thistle plants, or). See also, upon the bearings of Cardona, HMW, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> "Usara solamente de las armas y nombre de la historica casa de Cardona," Fernandez de Béthencourt, op. cit., III, 399.

the generic arms of the house of Segorbe; this arrangement being attributed to duke Alfonso<sup>1</sup> in a woodcut in Viciano's 'Segunda parte de la chronica de Valencia' (1564). The cut in question is found previously upon the title page of Pagan's 'Floresta de varia poesia' (fig. 24), a collection of verse dedicated posthumously to the duke of Segorbe and Cardona (d. October 16, 1562), in the colophon of which it is stated that the printing of the same was finished at Valencia on December 19 of that year.<sup>2</sup>

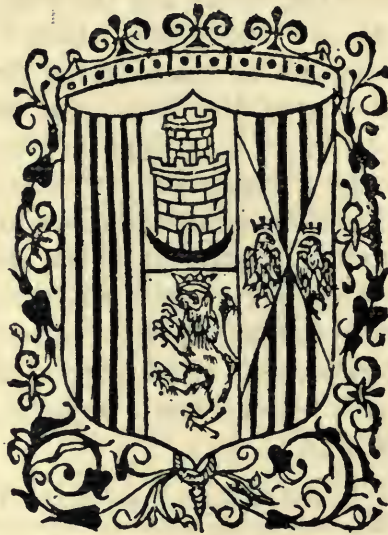
The fact that a modern authority attributes to the dukes of Segorbe the style, lord of Paterna, might warrant the ascription of the bottle under consideration to that township, if it could be proved that their title was anything but an empty one. The correctness, more-

over, of Nicolas von Popplau's allegation that, in 1484, Paterna

<sup>1</sup> In right of his marriage with Doña Ana de Aragón, a daughter of Alfonso, these arms were quartered by Vespasiano-Gonzaga, duke of Sabbioneta (d. 1593) and they appear on the coins of that duchy. From her they descended, through the Carafa of Stigliano, to the Guzman dukes of Medina de las Torres, by the marriage of the heiress, Ana Carafa, to the son-in-law of *el conde-duque*, Olivares.

<sup>2</sup> "Acabosse de imprimir la presente Floresta de varia poesia, vista y examinada, en la insigne ciudad de Valencia, en casa de Joã Navarro à xix de Deziembre ano 1562."

## Floresta de varia poesia.



**Contiene esta Floresta** q̄ componia el doctor Diego Ramirez Pagan, muchas y diuersas obras, morales, spirituales, y temporales. y esta primera es vna elegia en la muerte del Emperador nuestro rey y señor. Dirigida al Excelentissimo señor duque de Sogorbe. &c.

**Impressa con licencia.**

FIG. 24

produced pottery "in blue and gold colours"<sup>1</sup> gains in probability by the recently published documentary evidence of the activity of certain of its inhabitants in lustre in 1493 and 1500.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately for a most attractive theory, both as regards the origin of the object and the possibility of attributing a specimen to Paterna, it would appear that from *circa* 1430, possession of that seignior, and of the adjacent Benalguazil and La Pobla, was vested in the city of Valencia.<sup>3</sup> But that the house of Segorbe retained some claim to a locality of which they continued to style themselves the lords, is nevertheless clear from the circumstance that, in 1660, their representatives attempted to recover jurisdiction of the same. A symptom of the state of things regarding these lordships at the period of the bottle's manufacture may possibly be discerned in the fact that at the second duke of Segorbe's victory over the comunards at Almenara, in 1521, one of three infantry corps under his banner was composed of the Moriscos of Segorbe and Benalguazil.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the passage from Popplau, see HMW, p. 9 (note). Of Popplau's sojourn at Valencia, it may be remarked that it was somewhat brief. He arrived upon the Thursday after Innocents' Day [December 30], 1484, and left on Wednesday following, the Feast of the Epiphany [January 6], 1484.

<sup>2</sup> Osma, *op. cit.* I, 23-24; II, 64-65, and documents 64, 68, 69-71. In the specification of the jars required by Joan Bou in 1441, however, the omission of the term *dauratas* (above, p. 16), indicates clearly that Paterna's speciality was not lusted ware.

<sup>3</sup> The original grant by Alfonso V, as security for a loan, dates from 1430; it was definitely confirmed in 1459 by John II. In 1520 Valencia is entitled, "Senyora de les viles y baronies de Paterna, la Pobla y Benaguazir." Osma, *op. cit.*, II, doc<sup>t</sup> 81; and information kindly supplied.

<sup>4</sup> M. Danvila y Collado, 'La Germania de Valencia,' p. 140. 1884.







FIGURE 25

Victoria and Albert Museum (1283-'71).

Diameter: 15½ in. 39 c. 3.

ORNAMENT: In the centre of the dish is a lion passant in Gothic style upon a diapered field. A band of late fifteenth century motive intervenes between centre and border, which bears, upon an inner compartment, an inscription in Castilian; the outermost band is occupied by irregular repeats of the ornament employed upon the Urrea-Cardona bowl (HMW, pl. xxxii).

The back is covered with floral sprays in the fifteenth century style and has in the centre a small wheel. Ruddy brown pigment. Lustre, ruby and golden.

THE design, which is poor and unaccomplished, is the work of a novice or copyist, who, it will be seen, was apparently engaged in the craft far from such a centre as Valencia, or even Muel in Aragon, where H. Cock saw the industry practised in 1585. The importance of the dish lies, therefore, in the inscription, a correct interpretation of which would yield valuable data as to provenance. The inscription, which contains no difficulties other than an uncertainty as to the third letter in the last word but one, contains two sentences (fig. 26):

MARIA E HIESUS NOS ASISTAN

A HOS CONDES D'AGILAR E SENORES DE IEO(?)RA  
SOMOS.

Which is, translated:

*Mary and Jesus help us!*

*We belong to you, counts of Ag(u)ilar and lords of Ieo(?)ra.*

A question at once suggests itself as to the purport of the second sentence. Whether it be the craftsman's personal utterance, speaking for himself and companions; or, whether it merely relates, by an unusual expedient, the ownership of the dish or of a series of dishes of which this is a survivor. In the light of the ejaculation which forms the first part, the personal note in the second is clear.

The potter, or, more probably, the decorator, is revealed as a

Christianized Morisco, the dependent of the noble house described as counts of Aguilar and lords of Ieo(?)ra.<sup>1</sup>

Such an inscription might, with propriety, have found a place upon thousands of the productions of Manises and other localities. For the mention of Ieo(?)ra, probably selected from a string of lordships as voluminous as such descriptions generally were in the Peninsula, may well have been due to the dish's production at a locality of that name. It is the irony of the case that this unique instance is not so easy to expound as might be.

The Ramirez de Arellano, counts of Aguilar, were Castilian



FIG. 26

grandees of Navarrese origin who, at no time, appear to have held territorial possessions in Valencia, the district to which one would at first sight assign the dish on stylistic grounds. The Aguilar which gave them a title, and which is to be distinguished from Aguilar de Campóo (the Manrique marquisate of 1491), from Aguilar de la Frontera (the principal lordship of the Fernández de Cordova), and Aguilar de Ebro (of the house of Alagón, counts of Sástago), was *Aguilar de Inestrillas* or *del Rio Alhama* in Old Castile, province of Soria, situated roughly between the towns of Soria and Tudela

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that this reference may be, according to Spanish parlance, not only to the line of the counts of Aguilar in general but to the representatives of the house contemporary to the manufacture of the dish, i.e., the existing count and his consort.

(Navarre), upon the river Alhama, near Inestrillas and the juncture of Castile, Navarre and Aragon.

The Ramirez de Arellano claimed descent from a brother of Garcia Ramirez, king of Navarre, and bore for arms: Per pale argent and gules three fleurs-de-lys, 2 and 1, counterchanged, on a bordure azure eight fleurs-de-lys or, insignia which, it is seen, have nothing in common with the passant lion depicted upon the dish.

Juan Ramirez de Arellano, lord of Arellano, Ayllò, Uxue and Valtierra in Navarre; of Verdun, Esgu, etc., in Aragon, was a partisan of Enrique of Trastamara, supplanter of Pedro the Cruel, and he received the lordship of the two Cameros (Los Cameros Nuevo y Viejo), a princely *merced enriqueña*, in 1366, when Du Guesclin was made count of Borja and Sir Hugh Calveley, of Carrión de los Condes. Aguilar followed in 1380. The fact is of interest, in the present enquiry, that when the seventh count of Aguilar (d. 1620) petitioned Philip III for recognition as a grandee of the first class or antiquity, he did so as lord of forty towns and one-hundred-and-twelve hamlets.<sup>1</sup> Salazar y Castro describes the lordship of Los Cameros as consisting of two valleys, twelve leagues in extent, between Soria and the Rioja, and it may be traced upon a good map by the occurrence of the predicates *de Cameros* or *en Cameros* applied to various places along the south of the Ebro, from Aguilar itself, in a north-westerly direction as far as Torecilla en Cameros, to the south of Najera.

<sup>1</sup> Yanguas and its hamlets; Munilla, San Roman, Soto, Trevijano, Luecas, Montalvo, Muro, Santa Maria, Torre, Rabanera, Valdecierra, Axamil, Vadiellos, Avellaneda, Muriello de Calahorra, Olbega, Nalda, Villanueva, Entrena, the house of Albrid, Hornos, Mansiella, Villabelayo, Montenegro, Viniestra upper and lower, the Five Towns, Canales upper and lower, the houses of Arnedillo, Santa Lucia, Rio de Yza, Aguaras, Anguiano, Comago, Orvitana, la Santa Torre, Miño, Hornillos, Villela de Ocón, Fresno de Cantespina and Armesillo, Navarrete, Muro, Entrambas Aguas, Albelda, Pinillos, Jalon, Alcocera and Arrubal. Navarrete was exchanged for Aguilar in 1380; and Navajun, Valmadera, Andaluz, Ossoña, Centenera, Fuente Pinilla, Tajuecos, Valde-Rueda, Valde-Rodilla, la Seca, Fuente-Arbol, La Ventosa, are attributed to the first lord of Los Cameros by Salazar y Castro, 'Historia genealogica de la casa de Lara,' 1, 374-6, etc. 1696. There were also the ancestral lands in Navarre and Aragon, cited above.

In the enquiry as to the identity of Ieo(?)ra, it is of some interest to cite the styles of the heads of the family at different epochs.

Carlos de Arellano, grandson of Juan Ramirez, above mentioned, is called: Señor de los Cameros, Arellano, Subiza, Dicastillo, Andaluz, Cervera, Aguilar, Muro, Albelda, Viguera, Alcandre, Ausejo, Murillo, Pinillos, *y otras muchas villas*. The first count of Aguilar, created in 1475, second in descent from Carlos, was also lord of Clavijo, Torre, Luecas and Ribavellosa; the second count (d. 1514) added Cigudosa and Casa Carrillo. Alonso, third count (d. 1522), left a daughter Ana who, in 1532, espoused her uncle Pedro; their son, the fifth holder of the title, died at Yanguas in 1590. His style differs in no material respect from that of his grandfather. Pedro, the sixth count of Aguilar, married the lady of Colmenar de Oreja, Torralva, Beteta, Villoria, and Huelamo. His brother and successor Felipe, viceroy of Navarre, to whom Philip III granted the grandeeship of the first class, died in 1620. The Ramirez de Arellano, as counts of Aguilar, endured until 1680, when an heiress, the tenth countess, carried the possessions of the house, by marriage, to the counts of Frigiliana.

Of all the possessions, recited in the habitual style of the counts of Aguilar, Cervera has most in common with the lordship mentioned in the inscription. It was one of the principal towns in the Aguilar territory, and has been spelled variously Zebera, Cervaria and Cevera.<sup>1</sup>

The supposition that the last word but one in the inscription should read *Cevera* or *Zebera*, implies that the third letter is an abbreviation for BE or VE, and also that the first letter, employed throughout as I, here does duty for X or Z.

There is so much to be said against the reading thus proposed, that we pass at once to a second solution of the problem which, though palæographically more convincing, yet unfortunately lacks the historical confirmation forthcoming in the case of a place-name of recorded connexion with the counts of Aguilar.

<sup>1</sup>N. Hergueta, Noticias historicas de D. Jeronimo Aznar, obispo de Calahorra y de su notable documento geografico del siglo XIII; 'Revista de Archivos,' 3rd series, xx, 107.

Eliminating the consonants B, P and F, the only letters not found elsewhere in the inscription, as being out of the question here, it would appear that the third letter, if not simply an O, is yet formed of that letter, and may be read as a palæographical compound or combination of it and of another character—an abbreviation employed in apprehension of the insufficiency of the space at command.

In penning such a character it is desirable to preserve the form of the principal letter employed, whilst adding a distinctive feature or as much of the distinctive feature of the second letter as will indicate its existence. The two strokes on the fore-side of the third letter, the supposed O, appear to indicate that it was intended to combine with it a letter with a cross-bar, a C, as in *Condes*, and that the letter in question stands for CO.

We thus obtain IECORA. As we have hinted, no locality of the name is to be found among the selection of Aguilar lands recorded by their most detailed historian. Across the Ebro, however, which here formed the boundary between Castile and Navarre, in the province of Alava, is a village named *Yecora*. It is situated to the east of La Guardia, somewhat to the north of the Ebro, Logroño and the western extremity of the Aguilar territory, which marched for leagues with the river on its southern side. Though ancient<sup>1</sup> it is an insignificant place, and may on that account have been omitted from the Navarrese possessions of the Ramirez de Arellano—Arellano, Aylo, Uxue, Valtierra, Musqui, Curinduine and Gorrita, detailed by Salazar y Castro.

Yecora lies close to the Aguilar country and sphere of influence; a glance at the illustration will show that assuming neither metathesis nor wholesale omission of characters to have taken place, the penultimate word of the inscription probably represents the name of that village.

<sup>1</sup> Yecora, alias San Miguel de Bihurco, is not to be confounded with San Millan de Yecora half-way between Haro and Bribiesca. Like the Aguilar-Cameros domain, it lay in the Calahorra diocese. See Hergueta, op. cit., p. 110; Miñano, 'Diccionario geografico,' x, 49. 1828.

In any case, the writer will have been amply repaid for the hours expended upon this inscription,<sup>1</sup> if his remarks lead to the discussion of the problem it presents, or to its solution.

<sup>1</sup>With a view to testing the correctness of the *title* given to the Aguilar of the inscription, the researches were extended to the styles and topographical connexions of the marquises and lords of various other Aguilar (mentioned above) in Spain. Also their marriage alliances, it being possible that the lordship mentioned in the inscription might be the dowry of a countess or other, of Aguilar. There are, moreover, a number of circumstances which have not escaped such attention as it is possible to give with the help of maps and printed books: the existence of an Aguilar in Navarre, situated not far from Yecora, but never erected into a county; of a family named Aguilar seated at Alacuaz (of certain pottery fame) near Valencia and recognized as kinsmen by the Fernández de Cordoba of the *gran casa de Aguilar*, to whom the title of count might erroneously have been applied; and Escolano's statement that Ayora, on the frontier of Valencia, was called by the Moors Yaora or Yaura—this affecting the Sandoval, Ladron and Mendoza lords of Ayora (town), and the Centellas and Borja of Val de Ayora. The result, in all these cases, has been to prove, negatively, that the inscription refers to the Ramirez de Arellano, *counts* of Aguilar.



## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

OWING to the dearth of datable examples, illustration of the transition from the styles produced in the first half of the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup> to those in vogue in the seventeenth, has not been attempted. Numerous though specimens be, such a gradation as we have outlined for the fifteenth century and the period immediately ensuing, would, for the reason mentioned, be merely arbitrary between 1560 and 1600. The abandonment of many of the old shapes, their flat surfaces so well fitted to receive armorial ornament, appears to have aided the growing disregard for armory evinced by the patrons of Hispano-Moresque pottery in the sixteenth century. As regards the productions of the seventeenth century, the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1610 is frequently cited as though it had been the unique factor determining the decay of the lustre industry in its later period. If the stages of Valencian ceramic evolution during the fifty years preceding that event could be clearly traced, however, the expulsion would be found to occur too late as a cause for the principal elements of deterioration that concern this inquiry, i.e., the degeneration of technique and of ornament, which had set in long before.

It would be instructive to learn the proportion of non-Morisco craftsmen engaged in lustre production at Manises and the lesser localities in 1610, as perusal of the documentary evidence shows that, for long, other branches of the trade had been in nowise dependent upon the Moriscos. A sufficiency of Christian master-potters was available in 1614 to carry on the industry specially identified with Manises, and to form the guild of *Mestres de la Obra de Terra* under the Buyl patronage.

With the earlier of the characteristically ornamented seventeenth-century specimens that follow, the writer could wish to have reproduced a lusted bowl (H. Walters collection), bear-

<sup>1</sup> The pieces illustrated in HMW, pls. xxviii-xxxii, and, in the present volume, figs. 17, 20-22, are representative of some of the principal styles in vogue in the early sixteenth century.

ing around its rim an inscription which he is able to give only in part:

..... de la villa de muccaro  
esperanca de tierça muger de migel navarro. 1603.<sup>1</sup>

Comparison of these specimens appears to indicate that the expulsion made little difference to the quality or style of certain productions.

<sup>1</sup>Illustrated in 'Spain: a Study of her Life and Arts,' by Royall Tyler, p. 484. 1909. Also in D. Khan Kelekian's 'The potteries of Persia,' p. 37. 1909. The opening words of the first line of the couplet are, unfortunately, indistinguishable. The town of Muccaro has not been identified by the writer. At the bottom of the bowl is the artist's signature, in which can be read: Autor Juan Alpin (?) . . .





FIG. 27. VASES WITH ARMS OF POPE PAUL V.  
VALENCIA (MANISES), 1605-21

*To face page 67*

FIGURE 27

Height: 19½ in.; 50 c.

IT is significant of the favour enjoyed abroad by Valencian pottery, during the early seventeenth century, that the historiographer, Francisco Diago, should, in 1613, have thought it desirable to republish the utterance of Francisco Eximenes (1383). Of that passage, already cited, it is sufficient, for present purposes, to recall its mention of the anxiety of Christendom to secure the products of Manises, which, says Diago, 'ya ha enamorado todo el mundo de suerte que el papa, los cardenales, y principes embian por ella [etc.]'.<sup>1</sup> That the cultured, art-loving prelates of the Renaissance should have desired to possess lustre ware is not surprising, and it may well have been the fact that foreigners obtained it by special favour ("per special gracia") in the late fourteenth century, as Eximenes wrote. That seventeenth-century ecclesiastics possessed it, is equally certain. This it is interesting to prove, always recognizing that the preponderance given to the clergy in Diago's extract from Eximenes, merely reflected their precedence in the mediæval hierarchy.

The household effects of Louis Martini, bishop of Aosta (1611-21), included a jug with basin, and two *tazze* of the ware, under the habitual Italian designation:

Nella p<sup>a</sup> camera di Mons<sup>re</sup> R<sup>mo</sup>  
76. Uno bocale con catino di  
maiorica.

.....  
Nella camera di don Bernardo  
180. Due tazze di maiorica.<sup>2</sup>

The two four-handled, covered vases, here illustrated,<sup>3</sup> are evidence that the ware was to be found at the papal court of the day.

<sup>1</sup> 'Anales del Reyno de Valencia,' I, 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> See inventory in 'Revue de l'Art Chrétien,' 1885, pp. 357, 359.

<sup>3</sup> From 'Catalogue des anciennes faiences de Rouen, . . . provenant de la collection de M. de B . . . , anciennes faiences hispano-moresques provenant de la collection de M. N . . .' Vente à Paris, 12-13 décembre, 1904, no. 245 (height 50 cm).

The main motives in the lustre decoration of each piece, are a pair of warriors' busts, alternating with as many shields of arms of the house of Borghese, of Siena: Azure a dragon or, a chief of the Empire. In these, placed upon the crossed keys and ensigned by the triple crown, it is plain that we have the insignia of Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese), who reigned from 1605 until 1621.

Whether these vases must be attributed merely to the prevalent Italian taste for the ware or not, there is always to be considered the possibility that they were a gift to the Pope. Among those raised to the cardinalate, by Paul V, is found a member of a distinguished Valencian family, Gaspar Borja, son of the sixth duke of Gandía, who received the hat in 1611 and died in 1645.

The design of the arms, even for the period, is exceptionally poor.





FIG. 28. DISH WITH ARMS OF THE MONASTERY OF MONTSERRAT,  
1611

*To face page 69*





FIG. 29. BACK OF THE MONTSERRAT DISH

*Insert page 69*



FIGURE 28

Victoria and Albert Museum (826-'77).

Diameter:  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in., 34 c. 6.

ORNAMENT: Foliage in the same style as the foregoing, but with coarsely executed cross-hatching added upon the brim. For back see fig. 29.

**U**PON a shield elaborately bordered with cartouche work, in the centre, is a representation of a mountain, surmounted by a saw, out of which rises a crozier or pastoral staff; in base is the date 1611.

A mountain, its summit cut into by a saw, were the arms of the famous Benedictine monastery at the foot of Montserrat (Catalonia), so called from its serrated peaks.

The shield being without external abbatial ornaments, there might be reason to doubt that it portrays the monastery's arms, especially as mount and saw were borne, as a canting achievement, by families of the name Monserrat, notably that seated at Canet lo Roig,<sup>1</sup> near Peñíscola, in the north of Valencia.

But the presence, above the saw, of the crook-like staff, which is not part of the blazon of the Monserrats, solves the problem of differentiation between the arms of the monastery and theirs. Though no official heraldic monument of Montserrat<sup>2</sup> can be referred to by the writer, the abbatial crozier is undoubtedly depicted within the shield upon certain engraved representations of the monastery and its insignia.

A lusted dish, bearing the arms of Montserrat in its centre, is

<sup>1</sup>For an account of the Monserrats of Canet, see Fernandez de Béthencourt, 'Historia genealógica,' III, 83-87. The family was hereditarily connected with the order of Montesa; and the incorporation of that body's domain (the Maestrazgo) with the crown was effected by Andrés Monserrat y Berga (d. 1593); his son, Andrés II, was assessor to the order and had, by Francisca Ciurana, of Morella, Andrés III Monserrat (d. 1676). From the latter's second son descended the marquises of Cruilles, who bore for their paternal quartering: Gules a mountain, its summit split by a saw, or, with teeth argent, on a bordure azure eight castles of the second.

<sup>2</sup>The only published seal of Montserrat appears to be that in J. Dieulafoy, 'Aragon et Valence,' p. 25.

accepted as the principal remaining evidence of the alleged manufacture of lustred pottery at Brislington, near Bristol. This piece, which is in the museum of the latter city, is the last of a group of ceramic products formerly attributed to Brislington, all of which are, and are now recognized as, of Spanish origin.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, the Brislington theory was first set forth by the late Hugh Owen, F.S.A., in his 'Two Centuries of Ceramic Art at Bristol' (1873), who ascribes to Richard Frank (d. 1785), of Brislington, member of a family long connected with pottery manufacture in the locality, the imitation of dishes he had seen used by the crews of Spanish vessels moored on the opposite side of the Avon.<sup>2</sup> Owen (p. 374) read Richard Frank's monogram in the signature or monogram upon the back of the Bristol Montserrat dish; but it is a variant of the inscription upon the reverse of the South Kensington example, of which the writer is unable to supply a solution. From the similarity of the two ciphers, and the absence of the letter K from that upon the Bristol specimen, and the fact that the dish here illustrated is undoubtedly a Spanish production, it follows that the monogram attributed to Frank is not his;<sup>3</sup> and as this putative mark of the Brislington potter was apparently the basis of Owen's attribution to him of the Bristol dish, its discredit disposes

<sup>1</sup> They include small bowls or dishes in the style of the pails with the arms of Don John II of Austria (fig. 31); and the peculiar narrow cylindrical vases decorated in lustre with horizontal bands, from which spring perpendicular volutes. Señor Font y Gumá's 'Rajolas Valencianas,' p. 216, illustrates a Valencian tile, painted with a representation of a stand or rack holding six of the latter vessels.

<sup>2</sup> Hispano-Moresque fragments are reported to have been taken from the bed of the river at this spot. But the exportation of Valencian wares into Bristol from the fifteenth century onwards, may, perhaps, be inferred from the discovery of a dish of the fifteenth century inscribed variety, "near the site of the old city wall," now in the British Museum (see p. 28). As also in the seventeenth century, from the vase in the Bristol museum (in the style of, and very similar in shape to, the pail-shaped vases made for Don John II of Austria, already mentioned), which "was presented to the Museum in 1836 . . . as being of local make." See 'Connoisseur,' XXI, 96.

<sup>3</sup> In an article by A. Billson, 'Brislington Lustre Ware' ('Connoisseur,' XXI, 96; 1908), the signature is accepted as that of Frank. One other argument against the attribution, used by a ceramic expert, is worth mentioning: It is incredible that a man of Frank's calibre would have signed his name thus in the late eighteenth century.

of the last of Brislington's alleged lustre productions as alleged upon the grounds in question. That the Bristol dish, signature and all, is an imitation of a Spanish work, from the hand of Frank, is a remaining theory which appears quite improbable. No doubt its ornament, in comparison with certain Spanish contemporary examples, is tame and relaxed in design, but these are defects which excite no surprise, occurring in an isolated specimen of Spanish ceramic decoration of the seventeenth century. Nor does the technical evidence<sup>1</sup> in favour of its attribution to Brislington inspire more confidence.

<sup>1</sup> Its lustre "is of a darker tone, and the ground colour is duller than in the Spanish examples," 'Connoisseur,' op. cit.

FIGURE 30

Victoria and Albert Museum (29-1907).

Diameter  $14\frac{3}{4}$  in., 37 c. 5.

ORNAMENT: Similar to the preceding examples, but with large scalloped leaves upon border. On the back are several concentric circles, three of wavy lines.

**T**HE shield, in the centre, is charged with a dexter hand, or forearm, grasping a sword that enfils a horseshoe. In base are three stars, and in chief two capital letters: the first of these combines F and E; the second E and R. In the centre is the date 1639.

Taking the achievement after the manner of a rebus, the name Ferrer is obtained (*f*, *e*, a *fer* or horseshoe, *e* and *r*). Or, the letters may be considered inserted (as was the date on the Montserrat dish), but, in this case, to aid in reading the arms; and as intended to convey *f e*, and *rrer*, by the repetition twice of the R in the second monogram.

It is evident that the letters stand for one of the commonest appellations in the trans-Pyrenean lands of the Limosin tongue—the name Ferrer—among armigerous bearers of which, the horseshoe is generally affected as a canting device.

Further identification of the arms has been found impossible. A seventeenth century writer, Samper, author of the ‘Montesa ilustrada,’ notes the frequency of the name, and the impossibility of enumerating all the descendants of the house of Ferrer of Guadazequias, Sot, Sanz, etc.,<sup>1</sup> the best known house of the name.

By another theory, the letters might be taken for the Christian name of an individual whose arms they accompany.<sup>2</sup> The canonisa-

<sup>1</sup> He deduces them from the Ferrers, earls of Derby, thus, ‘hijo de los cōdes Darbia fue Bernardo Ferrer que vinò a la conquista.’ (II, 571, etc.). See also Jaume Febrer’s ‘Trobas,’ Nos 239-40; and Fages, ‘Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrer,’ gives the arms of the saint’s family.

<sup>2</sup> A hand or arm grasping a sword or dagger is a not uncommon charge in Spanish heraldry. It is found upon twelfth or thirteenth century coins of the county of Ampurias or (in Catalan) Empurias. Its canting signification, in this case, is seen in the



FIG. 30. DISH WITH ARMS OF FERRER, 1639

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tion of Saint Vincent Ferrer (1455), introduced Ferrer among the baptismal or Christian names used in the Aragonese kingdom, which had been a principal scene of his labours. But the insertion of the horseshoe would then be a quite unnecessary addition to the arms; and if it forms part of them, as indeed appears to be the case, neither the word *Ferrer*, nor it, indicate the Christian name of the individual for whom the dish was made.

In the centre of the back of the dish is a monogram composed of the Roman capitals F, E and R in combination.

description of the device, by a modern authority, as "mã empunyant dago o punyal," [gallicé: main empouyant, dague ou poignard], J. Botet y Sistó, 'Les monedes catalanes,' I, 141-2. 1908. This device must not be confused with the later arms of Empurias.

FIGURE 3 I

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Height 16½ in., 41 c. 3; diameter at top, 16¾ in., 42 c. 6.

ORNAMENT and ARMS in lustre upon cream.

**A**MONG the most imposing specimens of later majolica in the South Kensington collection are the two pail-shaped vases (104-5, '69), one of which is reproduced here. They are covered with a mass of nondescript foliage, with, among it, an

occasional large flower, the former of which appears to be a descendant of the arabesque illustrated in the dish with the arms of Isabel de Carvajal (fig. 16). Degenerate as the ornament is, it accentuates the comparative purity and simplicity of line of the vessels themselves, a simplicity the attribution of which to an earlier period finds corroboration in the type of creasing employed upon the vessels' rim. A very similarly designed feature—a creasing of rings and finials—is to be found, for instance, upon a standing bowl, in the collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, exhibited at the exhibition of Mussulman Art held at Paris in 1903.<sup>1</sup> In the present instance the creasing is composed of rings alternating with children's heads, the hair dressed in a mid-seventeenth century style.

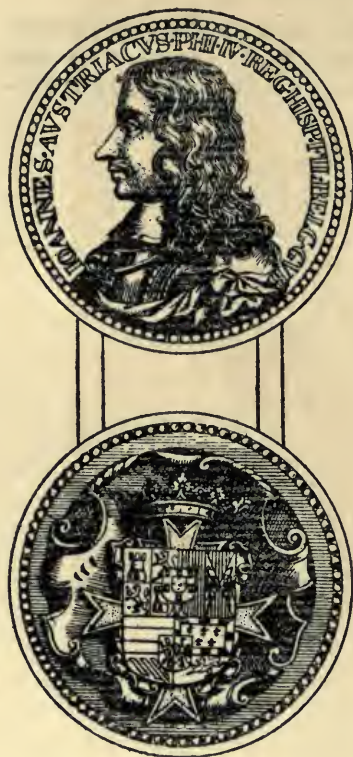


FIG. 32

On the centre-front of either vessel is a medallion or compartment supported by two lions, containing a shield of arms, from the sides of which project the ends of a Maltese cross. Four smaller

<sup>1</sup>Reproduced in M. G. Migeon's album, pl. LX. This piece has ornamentation in the bryony leaf style, and bears an escucheon à bouche, charged with the head and neck of a unicorn.



FIG. 31. FLOWER-POT WITH ARMS OF JOHN II JOSEPH OF AUSTRIA  
(1629-79), PRIOR OF THE ORDER OF ST JOHN IN CASTILE

*To face page 74*



lions are also used as supporters near the angles of the shield, thereby imparting a strongly Moorish feeling to the achievement, which is ensigned by a crown. These insignia appear to have taxed the designer's resources to the uttermost. The first and second quarterings into which the shield is, or should be divided, are reversed, and the rendering of the charges is such a burlesque of armory that an expert might at first hesitate to recognize in them the arms of the Spanish Hapsburgs.

It is seen that the quartering (1) of Castile-Leon comes on the sinister side (spectator's right), being preceded, erroneously, by that (2) of Aragon and Sicily impaled (these also in reversed order). The remainder of the achievement is correctly marshalled: the third quartering contains the Austrian fesse, combined per fesse with the bends and bordure of Burgundy ancient; the fourth quarter has Burgundy modern and the lion of Brabant. In the escucheons over-all are recognizable, in chief, Portugal; in base, the Tyrolese eagle and the lion of Flanders, impaled.

The Maltese cross, upon which the arms are charged, leaves no possible doubt concerning the individual member of the Spanish royal house exemplified. We have here the arms of Don John II Joseph of Austria, an illegitimate son of Philip IV and of Maria Calderón; born 1629, died 1679. Like his famous kinsman and namesake, Don John was early destined for a military career, and he entered the Order of St. John, as prior of Castile, at the age of thirteen (1642).<sup>1</sup> He is chiefly remembered for his *liaison* with the daughter of the Valencian painter Jusepe de Ribera, that took place during a sojourn at Naples in 1648.<sup>2</sup> Don John's lineaments are preserved in a bronze bust by J. M. Peres (1648), in the Prado Gallery,<sup>3</sup> an etching by Ribera<sup>4</sup> and in the medals commemorating

<sup>1</sup> Herrgott, 'Taphographia principum Austriæ,' I, 332. 1772; and 'Pinacotheca,' II, 242.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. Mayer, 'Jusepe de Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto),' pp. 18-19. 1908. Also 'Napoli Nobilissima,' II, 31; III, 65-67.

<sup>3</sup> Reproduced in the 'Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones, xvii, 227-8. 1909. The bust is no. 277 in Don E. Barrón's Catalogue, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Mayer, op. cit., p. 148 and illustration.

his governorship of the Spanish Netherlands (1656-58). That struck upon the occasion of his entry into Brussels, in 1656, bears upon the reverse his armorials, including the cross of Malta, the insignia of his office in the order (fig. 32).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Herrgott 'Numotheca principum Austriæ,' 2 ed., pl. xlv, no. lxxvii. For the description of his tomb at the Escorial, see the Marquis of Borja's 'Panteones de reyes y de infantes en el Real Monasterio de El Escorial,' Supplement to 'La Ilustracion española,' p. 55. 1909.

## APPENDIX I

(Supplementary to HMW, pl. VI-IX)

A. (see p. 11).

Whether there still exist any of the vessels ordered by Mary of Aragon in 1454, is a difficult point to decide, primarily on account of the non-specification of details throwing light upon the ornamentation of the pieces.

In view, however, of the fact that the arms upon a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum (HMW, pl. VIII) have been identified as Queen Mary's by the writer, the point is sufficiently important to be expatiated upon here. The dish in question is an exceedingly fine example of its kind, probably, indeed, the finest in existence. The arms, if not the exact marshalling used by the queen upon her seals—the party or impalement line is in the dexter half of the shield, not in the centre—practically agree, nevertheless, with those for Aragon, upon her monument in the Trinidad convent at Valencia (HMW, pl. IX, b).<sup>1</sup>

At first sight, the dish has some claim to be considered a lavabo dish such as is mentioned in the list following the royal letter, and specified as *dos plats pera donar ayguemans*. The supposition is strengthened by reflection upon the limitations which the shape of the vessel would impose, then as now, upon its utility. Yet, magnificent as it is, the dish could not have been intended primarily for a show piece, supposing the decorative value of lustred pottery to have been so generally recognized at this date as it was later. Owing to its breadth of brim, it assumes even a sloping position with difficulty; it is altogether incapable of being placed upright; and, flat upon the board,

<sup>1</sup> This, the first, escucheon upon the tomb, is likewise found upon a carpet formerly existing in a convent at Toledo; see section B of this Appendix (p. 82). It must be observed of the heraldic remains of Queen Mary figured by the writer, that they present all the artistic licence which the delineation of so crowded an achievement as Aragon party with Castile-Leon quarterly, could suggest to the artist. Not only were the pales of Aragon dimidiated, thereby allowing the Castilian quarterings to occupy two-thirds of the shield, as with the dish (HMW pl. VIII), but in the carpet (fig. 35) an extrarefinement increased the area of the Castilian half of the shield while preserving an apparently true-impalement.

its depth would render it hardly to be thought of as a table-vessel. The exaggeration of its brim, on the other hand, appears to indicate that the latter may have been its supporting member; the vessel could be carried easily, and, due allowance being made for its altogether regal dimensions upon the score of ownership, the probability that we have here the vessel which the polite manners of the day required in rinsing the hands, between courses, is a strong one.<sup>1</sup>

The main inference apart, the erudite commentator of Queen Mary's letter maintains a judicious attitude towards the problems arising in it. Satisfactory answers to some of them involve more than is known of the fundamental conditions of pottery production and of the development of lustre industry, at Valencia, at present. Meanwhile, the part assigned to heraldry in the application of the documentary evidence to extant ceramics, at Señor de Osma's hands, is considerable and, taking into account the peculiar circumstances in which the pottery of Valencia was developed, there seems, as was previously remarked, no limit to the services armory may render in dating specimens, and in affording material for the topographical differentiation of styles.

So far ('Apuntes' 1), Señor de Osma's heraldic inquiry is as to whether the two important dishes catalogued under the number 3107, in the Ceramic Museum at Sèvres (HMW, pl. VI, VII), could have formed part of the service ordered by the queen of Aragon

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that the vessels ordered for the purpose were *dishes* ("plats"). Against the theory it is only right to mention what is to be gleaned from the Valencian ware in René of Anjou's castle at Angers in 1472 (Quoted HMW, pp. 14, 15, 65). In his little closet ("chambre du petit retrait") was not only "ung bacin," but *ung lavouer à mains*; in the chapel, we find what is described as *ung autre plat parfont*, or, "another deep dish," etc. To the latter designation the South Kensington dish would answer perfectly well; generally speaking, Hispano-Moresque ware of the fifteenth century offers but two dish-shapes of which the salient feature is depth. The first is represented by the dish of Queen Mary considered above; a shape usually of lesser dimensions (see HMW, frontispiece). The second is a much shallower dish, but it has a (roughly) perpendicular shoulder and, in comparison with other shapes, would be termed deep (HMW, pl. XI and XX). To this category, assuming the description given the objects in the Angers inventory to have been at all exact, may have belonged the dish (? the lavabo dish used at Mass) in the Angers chapel.



in 1454. His attribution of the arms upon the first to the queen herself, confirms that of the writer, and there is apparently, therefore, no reason for holding that this dish might not have been made at the date in question. But the companion dish—and it is a companion in all except the exact repetition of the ornamental motive and the arms, which latter, the writer thought, betrayed a more accomplished designer than he who painted the first of the pair; though Señor de Osma holds them to be by one and the same hand—bears a shield less easily disposed of. It is an impalement (fig. 34) denoting the marriage of Prince John of Aragon, the younger brother of Alfonso V and, consequently, brother-in-law of Queen Mary, with Blanche, daughter of Charles III of Navarre, and his successor (1428-41) upon the throne of that kingdom. But the arms upon the dish are combined in reverse order to the impalement denoting the alliance upon Blanche's seals as queen of Navarre (fig. 33). Assuming that some pieces of the service ordered by Queen Mary in 1454 were painted with the armorials of living relations, as others would, in all probability, bear her own, it is seen that the death of Blanche, in 1441, seems to preclude the possibility of the manufacture of this dish some thirteen years later, if it could be maintained that the insignia decorating it be exclusively hers.<sup>1</sup> And the circumstance that their precedence is reversed (on the queen's seals her arms, dimidiated, impale her consort's), brings the problem within range of several other considerations besides the one that a blunder has merely been committed in the method of combining the two coats. The significance of the precedence given, upon the dish, to John of Aragon's insignia was not lost upon the present writer, however. Whilst there was recorded, to his knowledge, no exactly similar impalement of the arms of that prince and his consort—and indeed none can, it appears, be cited—and though it seemed that the logic of the order in which the coats of husband and wife were



FIG. 33

<sup>1</sup> John had, moreover, taken a second wife in 1444.

combined should be allowed to indicate this as an exemplification of their insignia upon ordinary lines, yet consideration of the well-known history of the Navarrese king-consort subsequent to the death of Queen Blanche, in 1441, made it clear that the arms applied, equally, to him until his succession to the crown of Aragon in 1458.

But upon the terminal date furnished by John of Aragon's union with the heiress apparent of Navarre, in 1419, Señor de Osma is able to refine. He points out that, so far as can be judged from the extant seals of the sovereigns of Navarre, the shield combining the pales of Aragon per saltire with the castle and lion of the Castilian crown—the first of the two coats combined upon the Sèvres dish—

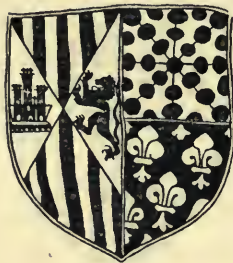


FIG. 34

made its appearance in 1427, the year after John of Aragon-Navarre obtained the duchy of Gandía. But, in the case of seals of the Navarrese sovereigns, a dimidiation of the quarterly coat of Navarre-Evreux is invariably the first half of the achievement (fig. 33); in this, the official impalement is the exact reverse of that employed by the decorator of the dish (fig. 34). The official version was, moreover, used by Don Carlos, the son of John of Aragon and Blanche of Navarre,

to whom the duchy of Gandía passed in the year 1440.

Señor de Osma concludes that, in decorating the dish, the Valencian craftsman might naturally accord pride of place to the Aragonese and Castilian emblems of Prince John, the lieutenant-general in Aragon of his brother, Alfonso V; that the precedence given to the paternal coat would be even more natural after 1441, if the arms to be depicted were those of his son Charles of Viana, holder of a great appanage in Valencia; and, the entire achievement being in no way exclusively applicable to Blanche of Navarre, he claims that the dish may have been made to Queen Mary's order in 1454.

Finally, we are able to confirm the descent of the two dishes from the sovereigns of Navarre<sup>1</sup> to the royal palace of Pau: a former

<sup>1</sup>Queen Mary having instituted John of Aragon (II) and of Navarre—her husband's

location at Pau being attributed to them at the period of their acquisition by M. Didier-Petit, from whose collection they passed at length into the Sèvres Museum in 1843.

Charles of Viana, son of John by the heiress of Navarre, died in 1461, leaving no direct heir; his sister Eleanor, the wife of Gaston IV, count of Foix, had governed Navarre, and, in 1466, took up her residence at the castle of Pau, ultimately inheriting the crown of Navarre from her father, in 1479. Her grand-daughter, Catherine of Foix, married Jean d'Albret, and henceforth the history of the northern portion of Pyrenean kingdom, and of Pau, is identical with that of the houses of Albret and of Bourbon. Another grand-daughter, Jeanne d'Albret (d. 1572), was, by Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, mother of the third Henry of Navarre, afterwards IV of France. The splendour of the furniture and works of art that existed at Pau in the reign of Jeanne d'Albret, is attested by an inventory of the year 1562, already printed, from which the following is an extract:

... l'inventaire des meubles laissés aux cabinetz du chasteau de Pau et baillez en garde à Robert Cordier, consierge dudit Chasteau.

Premyerement

A esté laissé dans le premyer cabinet . . .

....

Sur ung autre carreau :

1265. Deux grandz platz de terre de Beauvoine dorés.

The editors of the inventory assert<sup>1</sup> that earthenware of Beauvais was intended, but are fain to admit that no specimen of the same "rehaussé d'or" is known to them. That this particular entry covered ware of Manises is tolerably clear, we think, from the foregoing. But the designation *de Beauvoine* remains a puzzle, only ex-successor, and the erstwhile consort of Blanche—her heir, at her decease in 1458, it is possible to postulate the same line of descent for the dishes *qua* property of the queen of Aragon.

<sup>1</sup>'Inventaire des meubles du château de Pau, 1561-2. Publié par la Société des bibliophiles français,' [edited by E. Molinier and F. Mazerolle,] p. 202. 1892.

plicable by the circumstance that, as a reading, it is uncertain; the copyist hesitated,<sup>1</sup> it appears, in the transcription of a name he had failed to recognize.

To students must be left the task of choosing between the two theories: whether the Sèvres dishes were made, respectively, for the queen of Aragon, and the sovereigns and prince of Navarre, as would be indicated, *prima facie*, by the arms upon them; or whether both were made for the queen of Aragon, whose arms occur on the first dish alone. For the wealth of illustration with which the tenability of the latter thesis is supported, Señor de Osma's pages must be consulted. In regard to the former, the theory to which the writer inclines, he need but remark further, that neither identity of style, nor even the possibility of attributing the execution of both dishes to the same hand, are at all decisive arguments against their having been manufactured for different personages.<sup>2</sup>

B. (see p. 77, note 1).

With the two examples of the arms of Mary of Castile, consort of Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily (HMW, ix a, b), in connexion with the dishes bearing her arms, there may be cited a seal of the year 1435, at Pau (Archives des Basses-Pyrénées), and an armorial carpet formerly in the convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes at Toledo.

The queen's achievement, as seen in these monuments, presents the following diverse methods of impalement of the arms of Aragon (four pales) and Castile (quarterly a lion rampant and a castle triple-towered):

Seal of 1435: Aragon impaling Castile and Leon quarterly.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This information was obligingly communicated to the writer by Monsieur L. Auvray, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, who states that either of the readings *Beauvoire* or *Beauvoise* is possible.

<sup>2</sup>Though of extreme rarity, the style in which they are ornamented was employed in at least one case together with the larger mock-Arabic inscription in blue, and, in another, with the so-called 'spur-band' pattern. HMW, plate II and p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>P. Raymond, 'Sceaux des Archives du département des Basses-Pyrénées.' 1874. no. 640 (counter-seal).



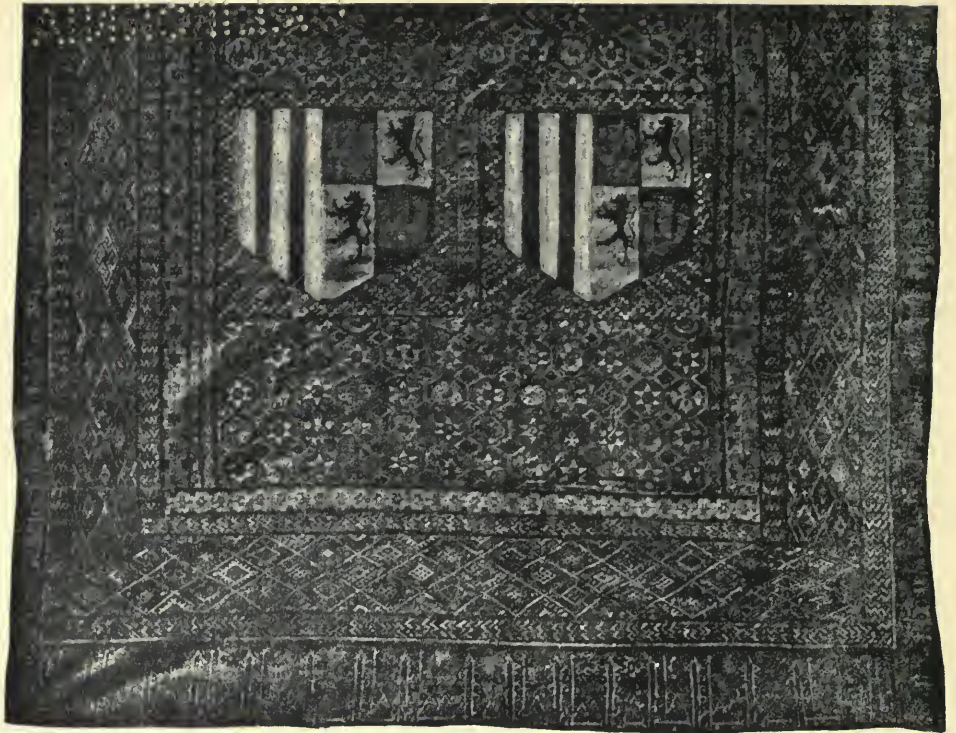


FIG. 35. ARMS OF MARY OF CASTILE, CONSORT (1416-58) OF ALFONSO V,  
UPON SPANISH CARPET, FORMERLY AT TOLEDO

*To face page 83*

Seal of 1457: Aragon (four pales) impaling Castile inverted (lion and castle quarterly); HMW, pl. ix (a).<sup>1</sup>

Arms, as queen of Aragon, upon tomb at Valencia: Aragon dimidiated (two pales) impaling Castile (castle and lion quarterly); HMW, pl. ix (b).

The carpet, the lower portion of which is reproduced in fig. 35, bears five shields of Queen Mary's arms as consort of Aragon, and these should be compared with the arms upon the dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum (HMW, pl. viii) and with the shield upon the royal monument<sup>2</sup> (HMW, pl. ix).

Nothing is known of the history of the carpet, which is of considerable importance as an example of Spanish weaving of its kind, beyond its immediate provenance from the Toledan convent. An attribution (as we believe, erroneous) of the arms upon it to Ferdinand and Isabella<sup>3</sup> can be traced in the traditional donation by Ferdinand to the convent (founded *circa* 1477), of certain houses within its area, situated in the parish of San Antolin, Toledo, and adjoining the church of that name, belonging to the patrimony of his mother Queen Joanna Henriquez as granddaughter of Ines de Ayala y Toledo, who died in 1453 and was buried in the convent.

Either of two hypotheses would account for the existence of a carpet bearing the insignia of Alfonso V's consort at the convent of Santa Isabel: that it was a gift from Queen Mary (d. 1458) to her contemporary, Ines de Ayala, or to the latter's descendants,<sup>4</sup> passing, with the latter's palace, through Johanna Henriquez to Ferdinand,

<sup>1</sup> Don G. J. de Osma, *op. cit.* 1, p. 47 note 1, observes the same marshalling upon a seal of the year 1455.

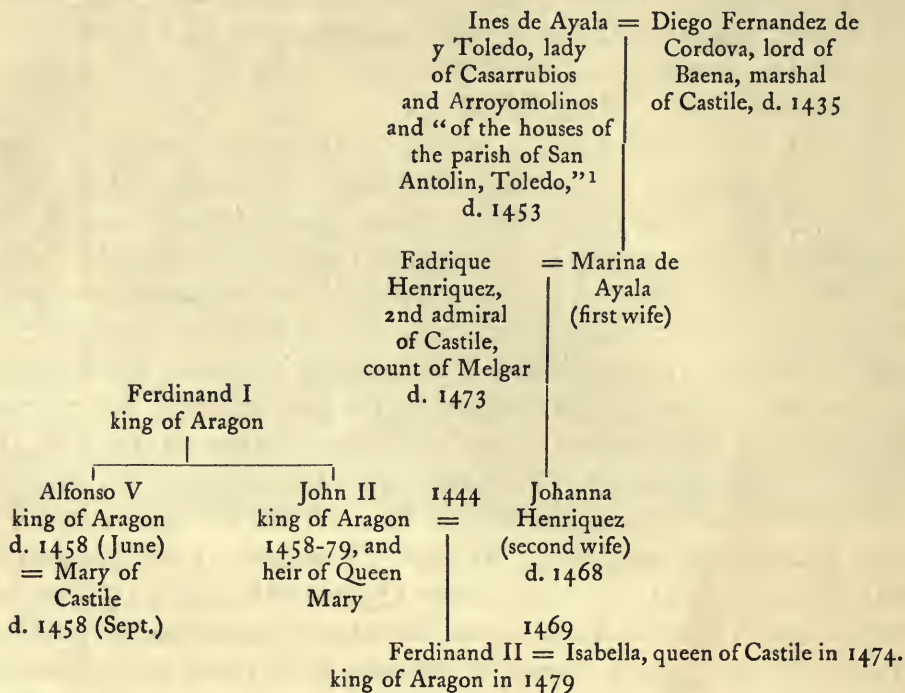
<sup>2</sup> The peculiar pose of the lion's hind quarters, upon the carpet, is a feature in the design of the same charge on the tomb-carvings.

<sup>3</sup> R. Amador de los Rios y Villalta, 'Monumentos arquitectonicos de España: Toledo,' pp. 302-3, 1905(-08), from which the illustration is taken.

<sup>4</sup> Ines de Ayala died September 4, 1453. In an itinerary of Queen Mary of Aragon during the period from 1424 till her death, published by Señor de Osma ('Apuntes,' etc. 1, 11), it appears that from 1424 till 1453, all the queen's stages were in Aragonese territory, but that, in 1453 she left Saragossa on or after November 1, staying at Guzman, in Castile, on the 15th of that month; on the 19th, she arrived at Valladolid, where she remained until April 27, 1454.

to be by him presented to the convent; or, that it came into Ferdinand's possession from his father, John II (whom Queen Mary had, by a codicil subsequent to her husband's death, instituted her heir), and was comprised in the already mentioned donation of the property of his mother, Johanna Henriquez.

The relationship of the persons in question is outlined in the table:



C. (see p. 77).

It has been advanced by a high authority that the omission of the "arms of Naples" from the tomb of Queen Mary of Aragon is due to its erection in the reign of her husband, Alfonso V's successor,<sup>2</sup> John II, to whom accrued Aragon and the island of Sicily,

<sup>1</sup>Fernandez de Béthencourt, op. cit., VI, 515.

<sup>2</sup>The effect of this criticism (see also p. 83) is to post-date versions of the queen's insignia agreeing with those upon her monument, e.g. the Victoria and Albert Museum dish, HMW, pl. VIII. The tomb bears three shields: Sicily trans-Pharum; between Aragon dimidiated, impaling Castile-Leon quarterly; and Sicily t.-P. impaling Castile-Leon.



but not the Neapolitan portion of his brother's possessions. Whatever the date of design and execution of her monument, the failure to represent upon it the so-called arms of Naples affords, in the writer's opinion, little solid basis for such a theory. It would appear that the arms of Aragon quartered with the imperial eagle (or Sicily trans-Pharum), which figure in two of the three shields of arms that ornament the tomb, were occasionally used at this period to exemplify the kingdom of Sicily (later termed the Two Sicilies) in its entirety, or, in other words, the Aragonese dominions in South Italy. In the same way the arms of the first Angevin house (the lilies of France ancient, a label) continued to exemplify their actual sovereignty over Sicily cis-Pharum (*il regno*, or 'Naples') with their claims to the island, as in spite of treaties, did their style, long after the partition of their kingdom ensuing upon the Sicilian Vespers. It is certain that 'Naples,' non-existent in the style of its rulers, possessed no separate heraldic exemplification under either Angevin house,<sup>1</sup> and from the standpoint of high armorial criticism it is extremely questionable whether it had any under Alfonso V. That monarch's style for his South Italian possessions reflected the unity of nomenclature and of armorial exemplification which were the inheritance of his predecessors of Anjou. It ran, *Sicilie Citra et Ultra*, or *Utriusque Sicilie, Rex*; and he marshalled 2-3 the Angevin quarterings Hungary, Anjou(-Sicily) and Jerusalem, to exemplify his succession, by adoption, to all the rights of Johanna II, *Hungarie, Jerusalem, Sicilie . . . Regina*, and, by conquest, from his competitors of the second Angevin race.

In the armorial decoration of the various portions of the triumphal arch of the Castelnuovo, Naples, the chief memorial of Alfonso's conquest, this quartered achievement occupies none but the most subordinate position: the Aragonese pales are over the archway itself; upon a relief within, Alfonso, surrounded by his captains,

<sup>1</sup> The denomination 'Naples,' as used, even in the highest quarters, contemporarily to the feud of Aragon and Anjou, was a mere avoidance of confusion in the designation of either Sicily. Its use for the same purpose by historians upon either side affects not at all the root question of the diplomatic style, upon which the arms depend.

the Urreas, the Gueveras and the Buyls, leans upon a shield emblazoned of Aragon, while a figure upon his left supports one of Sicily—the pales saltired by the imperial eagles. In the relief of the triumphal car, the monarch's canopy is hung with banners: of Jerusalem, Sicily and Aragon, two each; of Aragon quartering the arms of the Angevin(-Sicilian) house, one. Alfonso's herald at the court of Burgundy, an Enghien, was dubbed *Sicile*, and his tabard bore the pales and eagles.<sup>1</sup> Alfonso died in June, and Queen Mary in September, 1458. He left Sicily cis-Pharum to his illegitimate son Ferrante (Ferdinand I), who styled himself *Siciliæ, Hierusalem et Ungariæ Rex*, by whom and whose descendants was borne the quartered shield of Aragon and Hungary-Anjou-Jerusalem, the marshalling not always effected consistently. From the fall of this house in 1501, or rather under the subsequent return of all Sicily to the dominion of princes of the imperial house, the pales and eagles came to represent officially the Two Sicilies. It is, moreover, significant of the tacit pretension to both halves of the old Papal fief of Sicily, on the part of the heir or claimant to only one portion of it, that the 'rights' to Sicily cis-Pharum (*regno*) of Charlotte, daughter of Frederic, last Aragonese monarch of that line, and wife of Guy XVI de Laval, transmitted through their daughter Anne, who married François de La Tremoille in 1521, were exemplified in the shield of the latter house, not by the arms of the Aragonese of 'Naples,' but by a quartering of the pales and eagles which we know as Sicily.

<sup>1</sup>See p. 90, note 2.

## APPENDIX II (see pp. 22-26)

A. The account of the combat, *c.* 1415, between "Filippe Buir" and Montemolin is thus given by Eannes de Zurara in his 'Chronica do Conde Dom Pedro de Menezes,' (written 1449-50) cap. II:

... come o Conde teve o campo a dous Cavalleiros. Outro sy neste tempo chegarom cartas ao Conde d'El Rey de Castella, em que lhe rogava, que tevesse campo entre hum seu Cavalleiro, que se chamava Lopo Affonso de Monte Molim, e outro Cavalleiro da Caza d'El Rey d'Aragão que se chamava Mosem Filippe Buir: o Conde vendo como taes dous Cavalleiros eram mas dados para serviço de Deos, que pera se combaterem sobre pequeno caso, trabalhou muito per sy, e per outrem de os avir, o que nunca per nenhum modo pôde acabar; porem ouve-lhes de mandar ordenar seu campo, como he de costume, onde ao remessar das lanças o Cavalleiro Castellaõ errou seu lanço no que o Catalaõ foi mas certo, e passando o arnez de Milaõ ferio seu contrario em hum quadril; e querendo vir ás fachas o Conde mandou aos Fieis, que os tirassem do campo por bõos e por leaes, o que elles nom queriam de boamente consentir, ao que elle queria, e por su regimento forom amigos, e partio o Conde muito com elles fazendo-lhes muita honra aquelles dias, que alli forom e per semelhante fezerom os outros Fidalgos cortesãos, que estavam em Cepta, de que aquelles Cavalleiros forom muito contentes, louvando muito tanto nobreza de Capitaõ, e daquelles que tal Cidade defendiam, espedindo-se delles com muy grande ofrecimento (1790 ed., p. 489).

B. What brought the Philip Buyl of 1441-2 to London is unknown to the writer, unless it were a tour of foreign courts, such as was frequently undertaken by good lances in the later Middle Ages, instances of which will readily occur to the curious in mediæval heraldry. As is seen, Buyl's horse was expected from Flanders, and he may, therefore, have been the "chevalier d'Espagne" that tried conclusions with Monsieur de Haubourdin in 1439, and whose esquire was presented, by Philip III of Burgundy, with six silver cups, payment for which (65*l.*, 16*s.* of xl gros), made to a merchant of Saint-Omer, is entered in the accounts of the duke's receiver-general of finances for 1439 ('Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales, rédigé par M. l'abbé Dehaisnes. Nord. Archives Civiles, série B, chambre des Comptes de Lille,' iv, p. 144, 1881). According to the same account, cups were presented also to two "escuiers

d'Espagne" who encountered Guillaume de Vauldrey at Saint-Omer, and Jaquotin de Haubourdin.

The tendency to identify Buyl with the knight described in the Paston correspondence (ed. by J. Gairdner, I, 40-41, 1900: Robert Repps to John Paston, November 1, 1440) had been, in view of its date, irresistible: "More over there is j kome in to England, a knyght out of Spayne, wyth a kercheff of plesaunce i wrapped about hys arme; the qwych knyght will renne a cours wyth a sharpe spere for his sovereign lady sake; quom other Sir Richard Wodvyle or Sir Christofore Talbot shall delyver to the wyrchip of Englund and of him selff, be Goddes grace," had there not been arranged an encounter between Woodville and "Sir Peter de Vasques of Spain" at Westminster on the 26th of the same month (Rymer, 1440, November 10).<sup>1</sup> Vasques figures as chamberlain to the duke of Burgundy in 1469 (Sept. 18, Rymer). The passage in the Paston letters has been frequently cited; the name of Woodville's opponent, never.

A companion of Buyl at the English court is probably revealed by a payment in the Exchequer Issue Roll for Easter, 20 Henry VI [1441-2] (Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer . . . from King Henry III to King Henry VI'). On April 27, mention is made of a pension of 100 marks yearly, for life, to Francis de Suriene called l'Arragonoiz, granted in 19 Henry VI, for services performed and to be performed, to enable him the more fitly to sustain the estate of knighthood, and that his wife and children might not want. By Michaelmas, 26 Henry VI [1447], Suriene had been elected to the Order of the Garter. Segar ('Honor military and ciuill,' 1602, p. 191) mentions an encounter between Suriene and Astley, at Smithfield, when the Aragonese, who is stated to have overcome all the gentlemen of France, lost to Astley. Subjects of the king of Aragon and Sicily are not infrequently found in the north at this period, i.e. Juan Bonifazio or Jacques Boniface, who fought Jacques de Lalaing at Ghent in December 1445 (vide La Marche). With them must not be confounded the followers of the "Roi de Sicile," René, at Henry VI's court *temp.* the marriage with Margaret of Anjou, in 1445.

<sup>1</sup> See also Wm. Gregory's Chronicle, Camden Society, p. 183.

### APPENDIX III (see p. 35)

The commercial relations of mediæval Flanders and the Aragonese realm, recorded in a series of enactments<sup>1</sup> dating from the mid-fourteenth century, are of much interest in connexion with the importation of Valencian pottery at Bruges. That this was either presented to, or procured for, the dukes of Burgundy is as certain as that it was to be found in the houses of merchants like Tommaso Portinari. Count Louis of Male granted a safe-conduct to traders and seamen of Aragon and Majorca in 1352. In 1389 the Aragonese merchants obtained a charter from Philip II, of Burgundy; it was confirmed by John the Fearless in 1414. Subsequently the Aragonese came under the designation "marchands d'Espagne," properly that of the Castilians only. The Bruges magistracy, in 1493, conferred a charter upon the Aragonese and Catalan community, then seated at Antwerp, who were desirous of returning to Bruges. Olivier de la Marche describes<sup>2</sup> the cavalcade of foreign merchants that met Margaret of York on July 3, 1468, at the Porte Ste. Croix. The 'nations' were represented by ten Venetian merchants and eleven Florentines led by Portinari, 'chef de leur nacion'; "les espanguars estoient xxxiiij marchands à cheval vestus de damas violet, ayant xxxiiij paiges à piet chascun le sien, vestus les d<sup>ts</sup> paiges de pourpains de satin noir et jacquettes de velours cramoisi. Si faisaient les d<sup>ts</sup> marchands porter devant eulx soixante torsse les porteurs vestus de robes de drap violet et vert"; the Genoese numbered eighteen and the Osterlings, 108 merchants. Some of the houses were "en especial decorées de taintures et riches draps et grans alumeries de torsse siccome es maisons des Cathelans des ceciliens, des lucois et des portugalois sur le marchie."

Of political relations between the Burgundian and Aragonese courts, there is no lack, principally during the reigns of Philip III

<sup>1</sup> 'Cartulaire de l'ancien consulat d'Espagne à Bruges,' publié par M. Gilliodts van Severen.

<sup>2</sup> 'Historia nuptiarum Caroli ducis Burgundiæ,' in the Transactions of the 'Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or,' ix, 311, 1877; and his 'Mémoires,' 1885 ed., III, 113.

and Alfonso V and his successor. An embassy was dispatched from Flanders to Alfonso V in 1427, the object of which was kept secret, but was certainly with regard to a matrimonial project of the Burgundian duke, most probably to secure the hand of Isabella of Aragon, eldest daughter of James II, count of Urgel. The latter was next male agnate to Martin, last king of the Barcelonese house, who died in 1410. Isabella was too important an heiress to be conferred upon so powerful a prince as Philip of Burgundy, and in 1428 Alfonso bestowed her hand upon the Portuguese, Peter, duke of Coimbra,<sup>1</sup> whose sister Isabella became Philip's wife two years later. This embassy of 1427 visited Valencia.

In 1439, Agnes, daughter of Adolphus II, duke of Cleves (and Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of John the Fearless), a princess who had been brought up at the Burgundian court and was niece of Duke Philip, married Charles, prince of Viana, son of John of Aragon, king-consort of Navarre, Alfonso's brother. In 1445 Alfonso V was elected to the order of the Golden Fleece, the collar of which the duke dispatched to him by Gilbert de Lannoy; and the Aragonese monarch appears to have maintained as *Sicile* herald, at the Burgundian court, a member of the house of Enghien.<sup>2</sup> In 1446, Philip received the Aragonese order of the *Estola y Jarra*.<sup>3</sup> Alfonso V's obsequies were, in 1458, celebrated with great pomp in the collegiate church of St. Gudula, Brussels.<sup>4</sup> Apparently alliance with John II also commended itself to Philip of Burgundy, for Alfonso's successor received the Golden Fleece in 1461.

<sup>1</sup> Alfonso's brother and successor, John II, subsequently had a competitor in the person of the second duke of Coimbra, their son and namesake, the Constable, who reigned at Barcelona from 1464-66.

<sup>2</sup> 'Parties inédites de l'œuvre de Sicile, héraut d'Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon, avec introduction par le P. Roland.' Mons, 1867. Sicile's 'Blason des Couleurs' is one of the best known treatises of its kind.

<sup>3</sup> Zurita, 'Anales,' 1610, vol. III (libro xv), f. 304.

<sup>4</sup> For the shields, herse, effigy, see the accounts in Dehaisnes' 'Inventaire des archives du département du Nord. Lille, chambre des comptes,' IV, 208.

## INDEX.

- A** BEYAR, M., 4  
 Africa, 1, 6, 7.  
 Aguilar, Counts of,  
     59-64  
 Alacuas, 10, 21  
 Alegre, 50  
 Alexandria, 7, 8  
 Alfonso V of Aragon, 83-6  
 Algiers, 3  
 Alpin, J., 66  
 Amador de los Rios, R., 83  
 Amorós, C., 34  
 Andalusia, 3, 46  
 Andrade, A. d', 42  
 Angers, 5, 78  
 Arabic (*Alafia*) Inscription, 4,  
     9, 28, 29  
 Aragon, 6, 7, 11, 13, 20-25,  
     32-4, 36, 44-5, 47, 49-50,  
     54-7, 79-80, 82-6, 89-90  
 Armorial design (on Valencian  
     ceramics), 19, 26a, etc., 31,  
     38, 51  
 Astley, J., 23-6, 87-8  
 Austria, John II, Joseph of,  
     75-6  
 Auvray, L., 82  
 Ayala y Toledo, I., 83-4  
*Ayguemans, plats pera donar* 12,  
     77-88  
 Bagdad, 1  
 "Beauvoine," terre de, 81  
 Beit Colln., 3, 26a, 46  
 Belvis, 21  
 Bétera, 20  
 Billson, A., 70  
 Blanche of Navarre, 26a, etc.,  
     79-82, 84  
 Bode, W., 7  
 Bonnaffé, E., 5  
 Borghese, C., 68  
 Bou, J., 16  
 Boyla, 20  
 Brislington, 70, 71.  
 Bristol, 28, 70  
 Bruges, 35, 37-40, 89  
*Bugea, pignatte dorate di*, 1  
 "Buir," F., 22, 87  
 Burgundy, Dukes, 35-7, 41,  
     89-90  
 Butler, A. J., 1  
 Buyl fam., 11, 14, 17-26, 65  
 Cairo, 2  
 Campaner y Fuertes, 3  
 Cardona, 56  
 Carpet (Toledo), 77, 83, 84  
 Carvajal fam., 47-8  
*Catalogna, creta de*, 6  
 Catalonia, 3, 6  
*Catheloingne, terre de*, 6  
 Cerro de l'Amarejo, 53  
 Cervera, 62  
 Ceuta, 22, 87  
 Charles of Viana, 80-1, 90

Clement VII, Pope, 3  
Consolats, 32-4  
Console, G., 9  
Coroleu, J., 7, 21

Dagua fam., 39-41  
*Damas, façon*, 8  
Damascus, 8  
Dauphins, 35-7, 39  
Del Aguila fam., 47-8  
Despuig, 27  
Diago, F., 67  
Didier-Petit, M., 81  
Dillon, Viscount, 23, 24  
*Domasquina, terra*, 8, 9  
Dupré, L., 10

Eannes de Zurara, G., 22, 87  
Egypt, 2  
Empurias, 72-3  
Enexo, N. and F., 15  
Errard, C., 7  
Escolano, G., 53  
Eximenes, F., 2, 3, 67  
Febrer, J., 19  
Ferdinand II of Aragon, 44,  
83-4  
Ferrer fam., 72-3  
Flanders, 87-9 (see also Bruges)  
Florence, 37  
Font y Gumá, J., 10, 46, 70  
Francès, F., 14  
Frank, R., 70-1  
Fuscha, D., 14, 15

Gandía, 26a, etc., 80  
Genoa, 1, 6  
Godman, F. D., 28, 29, 30, 48  
Gondi fam., 49  
Gregory, W., 25

Henry VI of England, 23

Ibn Batuta, 1  
Ibn el Hatib, 1  
Ibn Sa'id, 1, 9  
Ieo(?)ra, 59-64

Inventories and Lists:

B. Lers (1343), 3  
Catalan (1367), 3  
Martin of Aragon (1410), 8  
J. Bou (1414), 16  
Vincennes (1421), 8  
Mary of Aragon (1454), 12  
G. Console (1464), 9  
Angers (1471-2), 5  
Neapolitan (1478, 1501), 6  
M. Abeyar (1493), 4  
J. de Louvegny (1520), 8  
L. Martini (1621), 67  
Pau (1652), 81  
Isabella of Portugal, duchess of  
Burgundy, 31, 35  
Italy, 5, 6

Janer, I. de, 48  
John I of Aragon, 7  
John II of Aragon, and Navarre,  
26a, etc., 79-82, 84  
John, duke of Berry, 10



- Kairuan, 1  
 Kelekian, D. K., 66
- Lers, B. de, 3  
 Lomazzo, G. P., 5  
 London, 23, 87-9  
 London: British Museum, 27  
     Victoria and Albert Museum,  
     3, 18, 27, 30, 44, 49, 59,  
     69, 72, 74, 77, 78, 83, 84  
 Louis XI of France, 36  
 Louvegny, J. de, 8  
 Luna, A. de, 20  
 Lyons Museum, 18
- Magne, L., 10  
*Mailloreque, terre de*, 5  
*Maiorica, lavori (etc.) di*, 5, 67  
 Majorca, 4  
 Malaga, 4, 10, 11  
*Malaga (Malica, melica), obra de*,  
     3-5, 11-17, 28  
 Manises, 3, 8, 10, 11-22, 28, 81  
 Marçais, G., 3  
 Marineo, L., 53  
 Martin of Aragon, 7  
 Martinet, C., 6  
 Martini, L., 67  
 Martorell, G. de, 14  
 Mary of Aragon, 11-13, 26a, etc.,  
     77-80, 82, 84, 85  
 Meca, 53  
 Mediterranean Commerce, 6, 7  
 Messina, 8
- Migeon, G., 4, 52  
 Mislata, 21  
 Monchen, J., 37  
 Monserrat fam., 69, 70  
 Montemolin, L. A. de, 22, 87  
 Montserrat, 69-70  
 Moriscos, 13-8, 60, 65  
 Muccaro, 66  
 Murla, 9, 14, 53  
*Mursia, platos de*, 9  
 Murviedro, 53
- Naples, 6, 84-5  
 Nasir-i-Khusrau, 1  
 Navarre. See Blanche of Navarre  
 Navarro, M., 66  
 New York: Metropolitan Mu-  
     seum, 51  
 Oche, J., 6  
 Orlyé fam., 42-3  
 Osma, G. J. de, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10,  
     11, 15, 58, 78-80, 82, 83  
 Owen, H., 70
- Pagan, D. R., 57  
 Paul V, Pope, 68  
 Paris: Dutuit Collection, 28, 29  
     Louvre, 3  
 Paris, P., 53  
 Paston Letters, 88  
 Paterna, 13, 16, 20, 21, 53, 54,  
     57, 58  
 Pau, 80-2  
 Persia, 2, 52

- Peter IV of Aragon, 20  
 Philip IV of Spain, 75  
 Philip III of Burgundy, 35-7,  
     87  
 Picasent, 21  
 Piet-Lataudrie Colln., 52  
 Pisa, 14  
 Poitiers, 10  
 Pomposa, 7  
 Popplau, N. von, 21, 57  
 Portinari, T., 37, 89  
 Portugal, 30-4  
 Provence, 5  
  
 Ramirez de Arellano, fam., 60-4  
 René of Anjou, 5, 6, 78  
 Ribera, J. de, 75  
 Rothschild Collns., 35, 74  
  
 Saguntum, 53  
 Sande fam., 47  
 Sandoval fam., 47  
 Sans fam., 49-50  
 Savoy, 42-3  
*Scudella ab orelles*, 16, 26a, 49  
 Segorbe, dukes, 54-8  
 Seligmann, M., 27-9  
 Seville, 6  
 Sèvres Museum, 26a, etc., 75-82  
 Sicile, Herald, 86, 90  
 Sicily, 44, 54, 84-5  
 Siena, 5  
 Solon, L. M., 10  
 Spannocchi fam., 49  
  
 Spencer Colln., 27  
 St. John, Order of, 75  
 Stow, J., 25  
 Suriene, F. de, 88  
  
 Toledo, 82-4  
 Tramoyeres Blasco, L., 10  
 Tree-of-life, 4, 28, 29  
 Turin, 42  
  
 Valence, J. de, 10  
 Valencia, 3-10, 77-8, 83, 84  
     See also Grao, Manises  
*Valencia, creta de*, 6  
*Valencia, terra de*, 3  
*Valence, terre de*, 5, 6, 8, 14  
*Valenschenwerc*, 5, 35  
 Valentiner, W., 3, 46  
 Van der Goes, H., 36  
 Viciano, M. de, 19-21, 57  
 Vilaragut, A. de, 21  
 Villena, duke of, 54  
 Vives, L., 4, 5  
 Volden fam., 40  
  
 Wallis, H., 7, 52  
 Warburg, A., 37  
 Warwick Castle, 52  
 Woodville, R., 88  
 Vasques, P. de, 88  
  
 Yecora, 63  
  
 Zeeland, 38-41











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